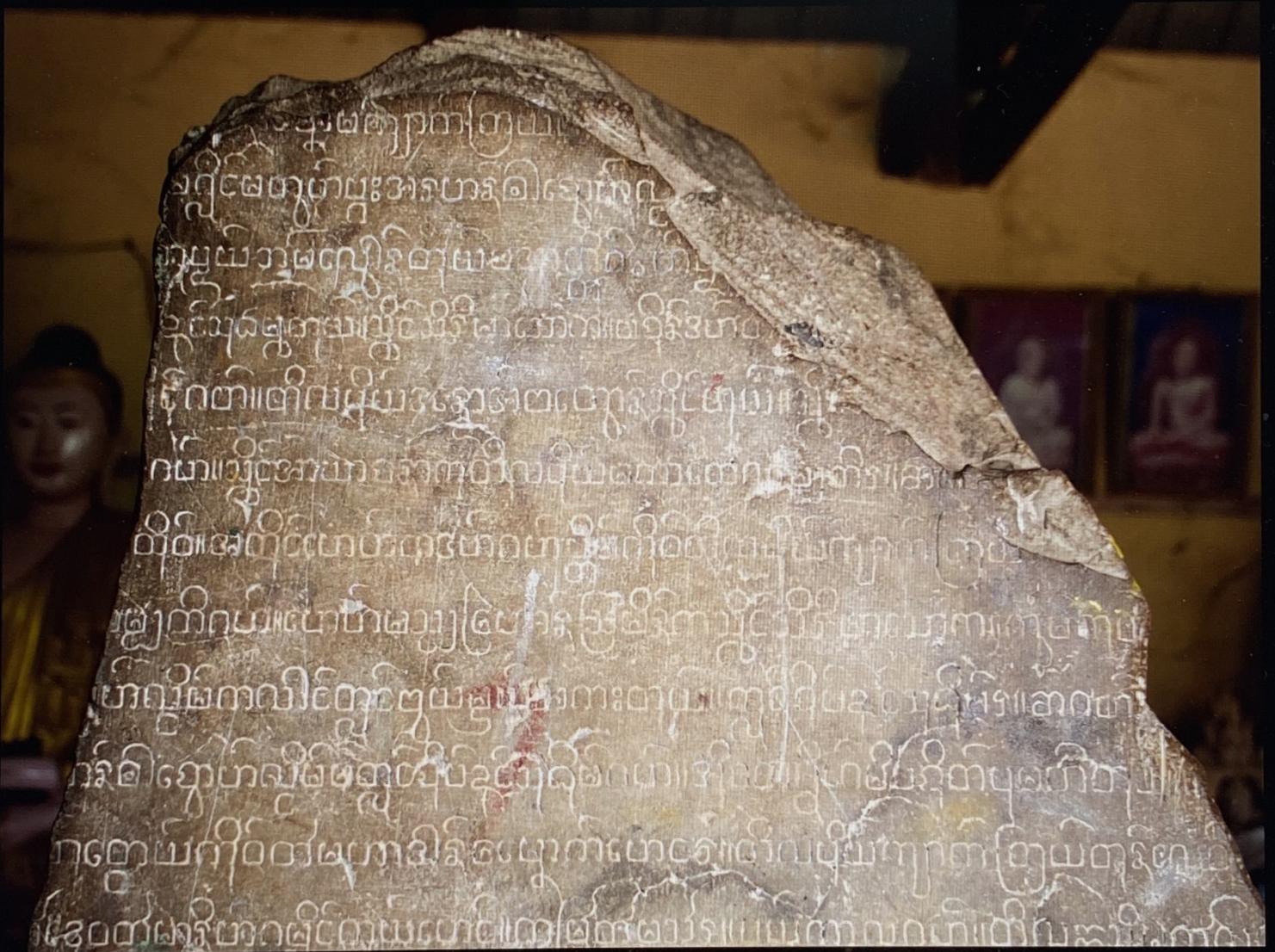


A Selection of Middle Mon Inscriptions from Lower Burma



Mt. Kelatha Mon inscription, dated 1486 (BE 2029)

Recording two major Mon myths:

- a) six-hair relics granted by the Buddha to six hermits.
- b) a tooth-relic retrieved by the monk Gavampati at the Buddha's cremation.

Shwedagon Pagoda

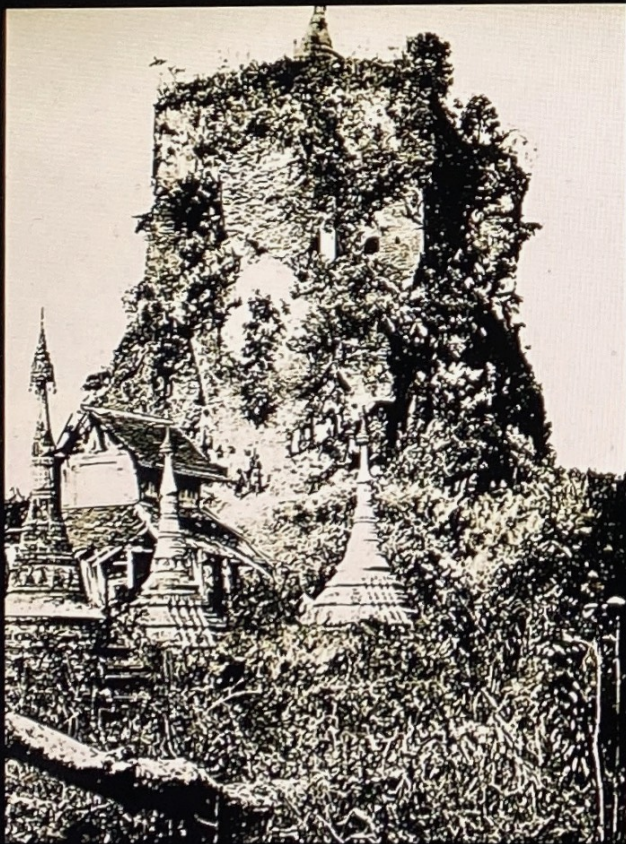


Mon and Burmese inscriptions on the stupa platform from c. 1470s tell the story of two merchant brothers returning to Lower Burma with hair-relics from Bodh Gaya, forming a core myth greatly expanded over the centuries.



The Golden Rock (Kyaikhtiyo)

The 15th-century myth about the six hair-relics was later adapted to this site, with many accretions.



The Four Buddhas of our Era

Mon inscription in compound of the Kyaik Pun, dated 1476.

The monument upon its discovery (left) and one of its many refurbishments (above).

Sakka's Washing Stone



A stone to wash and dry a castoff robe, given to the Buddha by Sakka, an episode in the Vinyaya Pitaka and a number of Pali and Sanskrit sources, with variations.

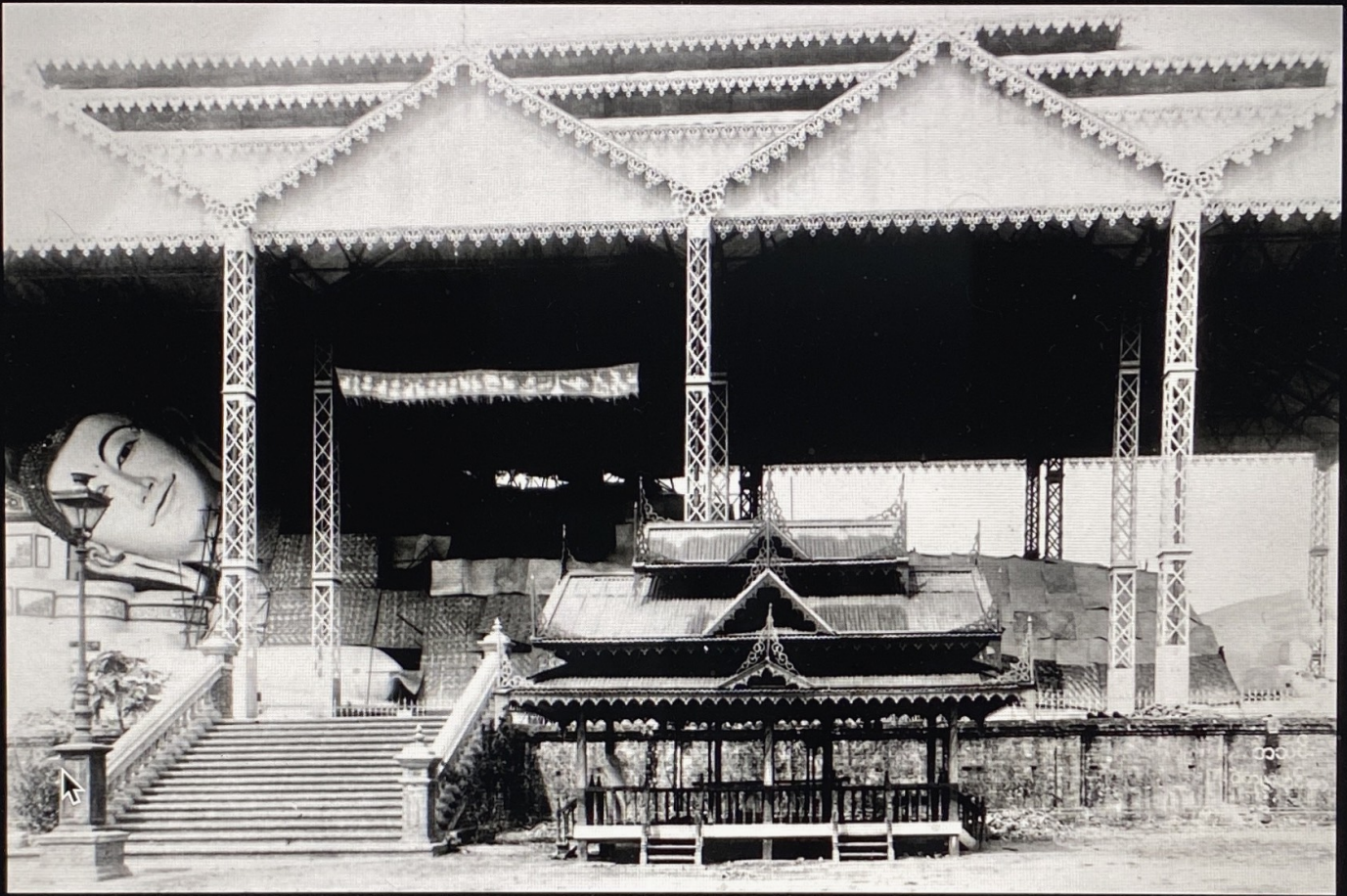
The stones in Pegu are identified by a 15th-century inscription.

This episode, depicted visually with stones, is perhaps unprecedented in the Buddhist world.

This pavilion for the stones is close by the Mahabodhi Temple replica at Pegu.



A Mon King's Atonement

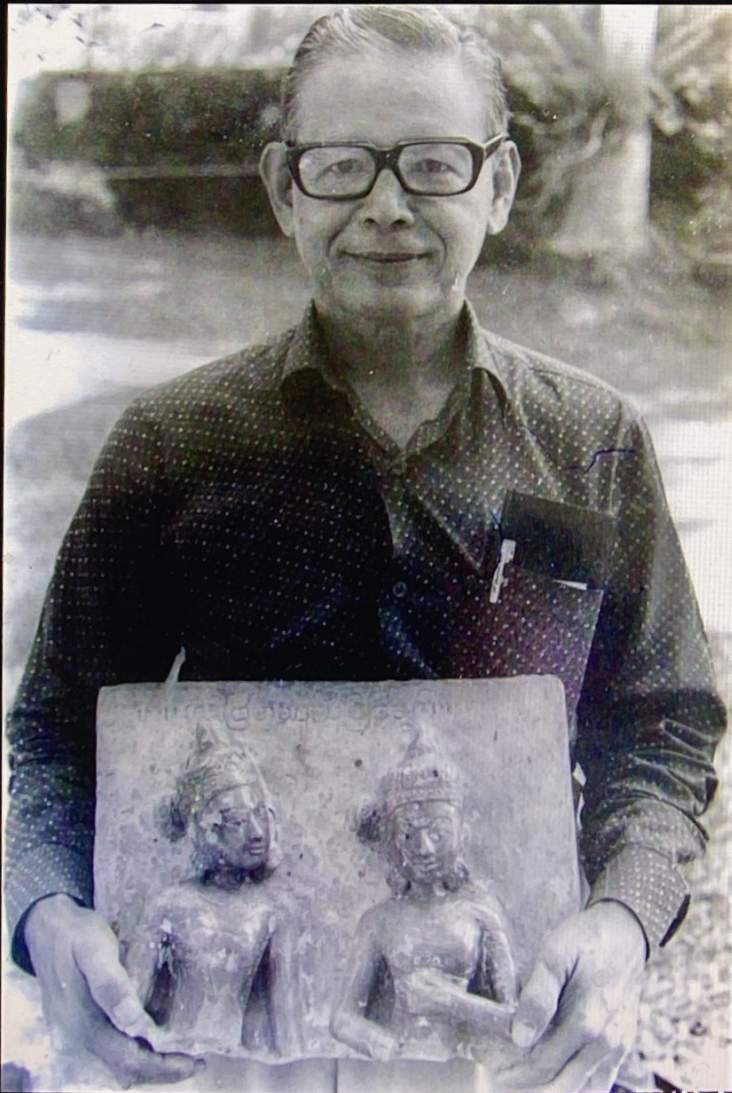
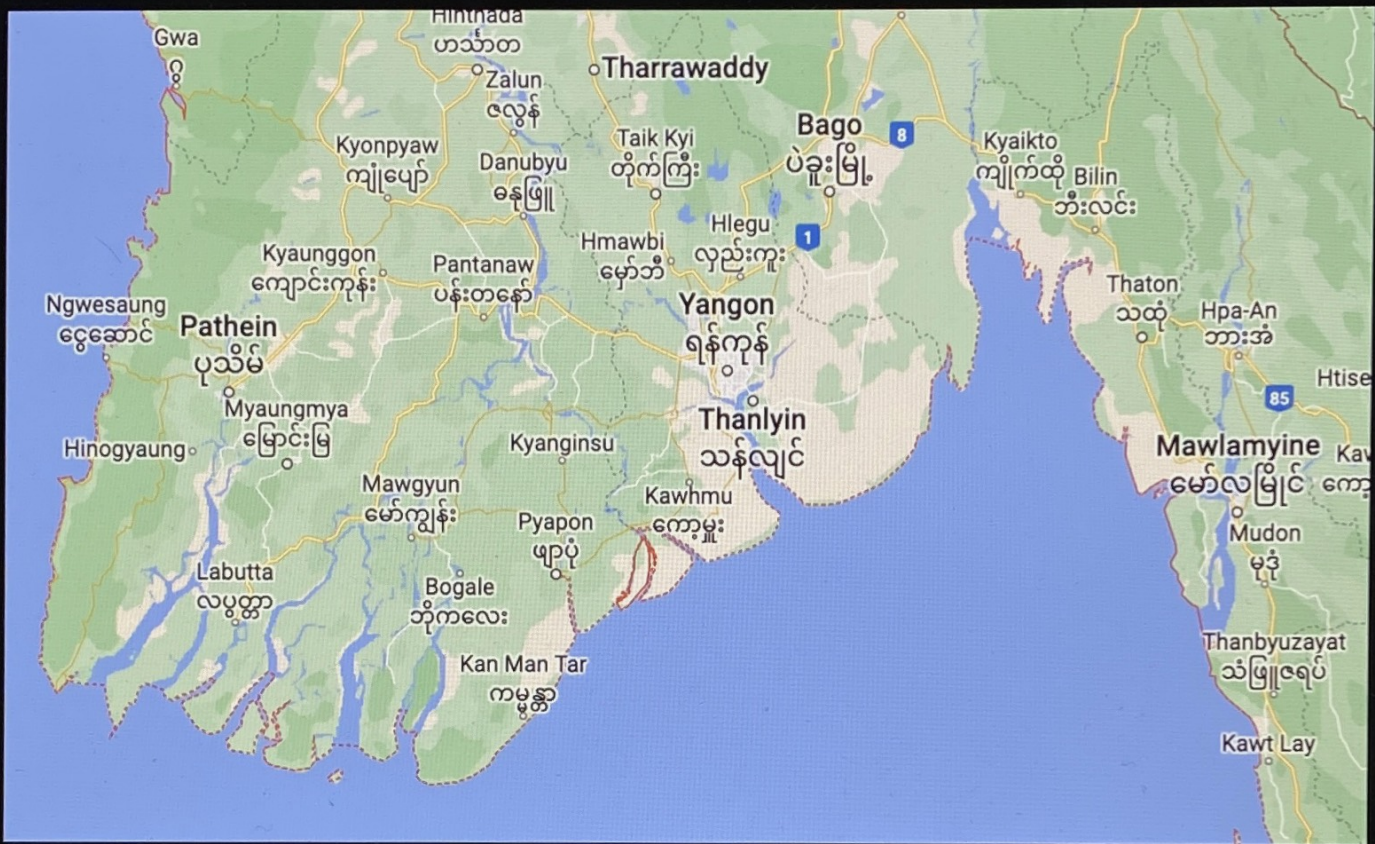


Pegu's reclining Buddha was tied in the late 19th century to a legendary heretical Mon king who converted in the face of his daughter's Buddhist devotion.

The king's bad karma, despite his conversion, was responsible for the Mon defeat by the forces from Pagan, recorded in later Mon chronicles. Pegu's famous reclining Buddha was established by this legendary repentant king.

This example illustrates how ancient Buddhist themes were woven into political narratives played out over centuries and into our own times.

The Mon Realm in the 15th century



Nai Pan Hla
(1923 - 2010)

Rangoon, 1987



Daughters of Mara tile, c. 1479

“Daughters of Mara assume the form of barren women” (*kwan beau ma ma pa cup bras mnek*).

From inscription on upper edge of tile. (Nai Pan Hla translation)

A Selection of Middle Mon Inscriptions from Lower Burma

These fifteenth-century Middle Mon stone inscriptions treat a handful of myths that shaped the course of Buddhist history in Burma. A small number of have been translated into English and others in bits and pieces, but these translations, made by the late Nai Pan Hla in Rangoon in 1987, appear to represent the most complete single collection in English.

Three distinct narrative cycles emerged in Lower Burma by the fifteenth century. Some material stemmed from Pali Commentaries while others likely reflected circuitous adaptations of Sri Lankan sources. The inscriptions translated here date from the second half of the fifteenth century but how early did these myths arise in Lower Burma and the steps by which they evolved is hard to say. The three core fifteenth-century myths spawned innumerable later narratives, starting in the sixteenth century when Lower Burma came under Burmese administration. Indigenous additions stressed the Buddha's special relationship to the Mon of Lower Burma. The majority of the records fall during the reign of Dhammaceti, (c.1470-c.1490), whose capital was Hamsavati, or Pegu.

One of the three cycles centered on two merchant brothers from Lower Burma who received hair-relics from the Buddha at Bodh Gaya and who returned home to enshrine the relics in the Shwedagon Pagoda. The fullest discussion of the Pali, Mon and Burmese fifteenth-century inscriptions at the Shwedagon and the later related Mon and Burmese myths is Pe Maung Tin's "The Shwe Dagon Pagoda", *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, 1934, v. 24. 1.pp. 1-91.

The second fifteenth-century tradition focussed on the Buddha granting six hair-relics to six hermits in Lower Burma (two later multiplied for a total of eight). The relics were taken by the hermits and enshrined in stone stupas at their hermitages in various locations. The myth's possible model was the Sri Lankan episode of the Buddha presenting an unstated number of hair-relics to the indigenous Sumana-deva at Mahiyangana. (Mhv: 1.34) One or more hair-relics are now believed to have been placed within the Golden Rock but this site was almost certainly not one of the original fifteenth-century locations. However, the myths that later enveloped the Golden Rock point to a direct debt to the fifteenth-century

narrative. Yet to be worked out is the connection, if any and to what extent, between this fifteenth-century Mon tradition and two Pali texts, "The Chronicle of the Six Hair Relics" (*Chakesadhatuvamsa*) and "Chronicle of the Eight Hair Relics" (*Atthakesadhatuvamsa*). The former, for example, centers on six *arahants* who received six hair-relics. (O. Hinuber, *A Handbook of Pali Literature*, 1996, p. 95)

The third key fifteenth-century legend revolved around the monk Gavampati who retrieved a tooth from the Buddha's funeral pyre. This tooth replicated itself thirty-three times in Kusinara from where Gavampati removed all the tooth-relics to Thaton in Lower Burma; in Thaton, the relics were enshrined by a legendary Mon king in the same number of stone stupas, or "*cela ceti*" (*sila cetiya*) (p. 6). A key part of this myth was almost certainly modeled on the monk Khema who also retrieved a canine tooth at the cremation; this tooth, rescued by Khema, is thought to be now in Sri Lanka and was the subject of the thirteenth-century Pali *Dathavamsa*, or *Chronicle of the Tooth-Relic*. (O. Hinuber, *A Handbook of Pali Literature*, 1996, p. 94)

Gavampati and the legendary Mon king at Thaton were believed in the fifteenth century to be kinsmen in their former lives but a century or two later they were taken to be twins, born from a union between a snake-goddess, or *naga-ma*, and a wizard, or *zawgyi*. Even the king's queen was later thought to be a product of an identical union between another snake-goddess and a second wizard. In each case, after the snake-eggs hatched, the children were reared by hermits. Other later Mon and Burmese myths involved children born from does, usually impregnated by hermits. Many such themes probably reflect ancient Indic lore from which Pali traditions derived and provided themes likely blended with indigenous Southeast Asian narratives.

An element uniting all the aforementioned stupas was the belief that the monuments fell into disuse and became lost following the death of the first legendary royal Mon patron: "After long, no men knew to worship such relics of Buddha, the relics had become jungle [*sic*] and people did not know the whereabouts of them" (p. 6), or "disappeared in the jungle" (20, 33). These were discovered by two *arahants* named Sona and Uttara sent to Lower Burma at the time of Asoka and well known from the *Mahavamsa*. The *arahants* also repaired the

tooth-relic stupas at Thaton but it is possible that a second contemporaneous tradition existed, evidently recorded in a fifteenth-century Pali inscription in Pegu and palm-leaf manuscripts, that claimed that the thirty-three tooth-relics were dispersed in Lower Burma by the two *arahants*. (pers. comm., Jason A. Carbine) Only one stupa was named, Madhava, variously spelled in the manuscript traditions, and this stupa was likely Pegu's celebrated Shwemawdaw. (pers. comm., Jason A. Carbine) The role of the two *arahants* in the *Mahavamsa* was only to missionize Suvannabhumi (understood by the Mon to be Lower Burma) but nothing in the *Mahavamsa* referred to the *arahants* restoring stupas.

The dispersal of the thirty-three tooth-relics is also recorded in a later Mon text titled *Gavampati*, c. 1710. Why the number thirty-three? Geographical divisions numbering thirty-three and thirty-two are recorded in Burma, Sri Lanka and elsewhere, together with symbolic associations. (H.L. Shorto, "The 32 Myos in the Medieval Mon Kingdom", *BSOAS*, 26, 1963, 572-591) For example, by the mid-seventeenth-century, each of the three major Mon divisions had a total of thirty-two cities, with the capital, Hamsavati, making up thirty-three. (Shorto 1963: 573) A famous Sri Lankan dispersal of Bodhi trees may have been the model for the narrative in Lower Burma. In this case, the total dispersal of Bodhi saplings was forty but thirty-two were recorded coming from four fruits. (Mhv: 19. 63) Lost relics miraculously discovered and re-enshrined or widely dispersed is a well-trodden theme in Theravada traditions, with Asoka serving as the unrivaled archetype.

A number of inscriptions speak of stupas marking familiar events in the Buddha's lifetime. The centerpiece in Pegu was a large brick replica of Bodh Gaya's Mahabodhi Temple, set amidst monuments commemorating the Seven Week period the Buddha spent at Bodh Gaya, each location identified by an inscription. Other monuments commemorated the episode of the alms bowl released into the Nerañjara River and the First Sermon at the Deer Park. Other tales are less well known or were conflated or slightly muddled, such as the Buddha receiving a filthy robe that wrapped the corpse of Punna, said in the inscription to be a servant of the Sujata who offered food to the Buddha at Bodh Gaya; there was a Punna who was Sujata's servant but the story of the robe involved an altogether different Punna who cast her robe into the cremation grounds. (MA. ii. 696) The same

inscription speaks of Sakka providing a lake and a stone for washing and drying the robe, an episode that closely followed a story in the *Vinaya* ("The Rag-robe Miracle") but the Pali passages included nothing about Punna or even the origin of the robe. This *Vinaya* episode with Sakka and the washing stone appears solely in the context of miracles designed to convert Uruvela-kassapa, a feature also in agreement with the Mon inscription. (Vin. 3. 27) The Mon version of the rag-robe thus blended various Pali sources.

Sakka's gift, in Pegu, is represented by several enormous dressed flat stones, identified by an accompanying Mon inscription (p. 44). This gift of washing-stones from Sakka is omitted in the Pali *Nidanakatha* and the Sanskrit *Buddhacarita* but appears in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahavastu* in which there is no mention of converting an ascetic. These huge cut stones are steps away from the Mahabodhi Temple at Pegu and appear to be the sole visual depiction of this episode in the Buddhist world.

Another inscription, dated 1469 CE, records the story of a Mon Buddhist queen named Subhadda who converted her heretical husband, Tissa, "Lord of the Hamsavati kingdom" (p. 12). Tissa had discarded seven Buddha images but Subhadda rescued them and caused them to fly, a miracle effecting Tissa's conversion. The theme of a woman converting an heretical husband or father may have been inspired by a commentary on the *Dhammapada* about about a Cula-Subhadda whose non-Buddhist father had entertained *niganthas* but later converted. (Dh.A. iii. 465) There was also a Maha-Subhadda, a daughter of the famous Anathapindika, who married an heretic who also converted. (AA. 1. 146)

King Tissa's bad actions, despite his embrace of Buddhism, was construed as the reason for the disastrous collapse of the Mon dynasty at the hands of the Pagan dynasty, recounted in a Mon chronicle from 1766 CE, the *Slapat rajawan datow smin ron*. (R. Halliday, transl.; reprint 2000: pp. 96, 116) An added twist was that the myth about Tissa was attached, for unknown reasons, in the nineteenth century when Pegu's famous reclining Buddha was discovered after it was cleared of vegetation; its construction was attributed to Tissa as an act of contrition. In this instance, the basic myth probably lay dormant in local lore but took on a new life of its own upon the monument's discovery. This example illustrates how myths

drawn from ancient Pali or indigenous sources were woven into legendary political narratives that were reinforced for all to see by being attached to public monuments, images or relics. Anuradhapura's Ruvanvali stupa, the Kiri Vihara Stupa at Kataragama, Kandy's Tooth-relic, and Mandalay's Mahamuni Buddha are among the more well-known instances.

Gotama and the three previous Buddhas also merited a monument and its inscription, dated 1476, has remained in the compound of Pegu's famous four-sided Kyaik Pun. Another brick monument in Pegu commemorated a spot between Bodh Gaya and Mt. Gayasisa where the Buddha met the Ajivika ascetic named Upaka. Another inscription treated several of the miracles that the Buddha performed to convert the three Kassapa brothers. These inscriptions were erected in proximity to the brick monuments that were generally rather small and now in ruins. The restored Kyaik Pun is an exception because of its huge dimensions.

Some inscriptions placed equal emphasis on the hair-relic and tooth-relics, and it is therefore difficult to determine if the 'restored' stupas of the fifteenth century by real Mon kings were believed to contain one or the other type of relic or possibly both. Some inscriptions place slightly more emphasis on the tooth-myth (Kawa, p. 19; Payagyi, p. 27), while others highlight the hair-relic tradition (Kyaikmakaw, p. 24; Kelasa, p. 33). In later Mon traditions, Mt. Kelasa and the Golden Rock were associated with hair-relics. The Thaton inscription mentions only tooth-relics since it was here that the 33 tooth-relic stupas were established. However, what was in reality believed to be enshrined in many of these stupas in Lower Burma may be forever lost in lacunae, often located at the bottom of the stone slabs where the weathering is often most severe.

The inscriptions drew from a deep well of Pali literature that has yet to be fully unraveled but this vast complex of monuments at Pegu was designed for visitors to envision well-known Buddhist spots far beyond Bodh Gaya in greater Magadha. The many monuments distant from Pegu, such as the Shwedagon in Rangoon and the stupas at Payagyi and Thaton, fell squarely within this wide orbit. There were three major divisions of the Mon realm, Kusimmandala (Pathein), Muttimmandala (Mottama) and Hamsavatimandala (Pegu), but nothing relating to these aforementioned myths have yet been discovered in the Pathein and Mottama

regions. (The three divisions are noted on the reverse face of the first of the Kalyani stones.) Several inscriptions were found in Patheingyi but have not been edited (see list no. 2, pp. 1-2).

A group of fifteenth-century brick monuments at the Wat Chet Yot complex in Chiang Mai and a slightly later set at Wat Bang Phuan in Nonthaburi Province also commemorated the Seven-Weeks but Pegu appears to be unique in the Buddhist world to the degree that its layout was far more extensive with far more episodes and accompanied by a rich inscriptional record.

Likely Influence from Sri Lanka was evident in the monk Gavampati but one episode was adapted unequivocally from the fourteenth-century Pali *Dhātuvamsa*, or *Chronicle of the Relic*, often called the *Nalatadhatuvamsa*, or *Chronicle of the Forehead Relic* from Sri Lanka. (Kevin Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism*, 1997, p. 25 & pp. 145ff.; O. Hinüber: *A Handbook of Pali Literature*, 1996, p. 95) This centers on a *nagaraja* who absconded with two hair-relics given to the two merchant brothers, detailed in a long passage found in the Mon and Burmese Shwedagon stelae and borrowed from the *Dhātuvamsa*; the passages even included the names of the legendary Sri Lankan king and a monk found in the *Dhātuvamsa*. (See Pe Maung Tin above, pp. 18, 29.) This king's name was also repeated in the Shwedagon Pali inscription (9). The same Pali text, under its name *Nalatadhatuvamsa*, was even invoked to determine the origin of the forehead bone-relic in the early nineteenth-century *Glass Palace Chronicle* (Luce & Pe Maung Tin, pp. 17, 86). The Kalyani Inscription at Pegu provides ample testimony to the well-known strong bond with Sri Lanka. (Jason A. Carbine, *The Kalyani Stone Inscriptions, Texts and Translation*, Pali Text Society, in preparation; pers. comm.)

Upper Burma developed its own traditions unrelated to the Mon myths of Lower Burma. Central to Upper Burma are myths recounting the Sandalwood Monastery and two related footmarks impressed in stone by the Buddha for a *nagaraja* and an ascetic named Saccabhandu, events commemorated by two footprint-sites in the Minbu area between Pagan and Prome. The earliest traces of this myth in Upper Burma belong to the early sixteenth century and reveal a debt to a Pali commentary, the *Punnovadasutta-atthakatha*. For an overview of these Burmese and Mon myths, see Patrick Pranke and Donald Stadtner, "Foundation Myths of

Myanmar”. In *Buddhist Art of Myanmar*. (Asia Society & Yale University Press, 2015)

The following English translations were made by Nai Pan Hla in 1987 and were based mainly on U Chit Thein’s Burmese translations of Mon inscriptions. (See U Chit Thein, ed. & transl., *Mon kyauk-sa Paung-khyup*, or *Collection of Mon Inscriptions*, Rangoon: Ministry of Culture, 1965.) Nai Pan Hla however appears to have consulted translations made by Blagden in manuscript form for these translations. This now-lost Blagden-manuscript was probably once in Luce’s possession and later likely passed on to Nai Pan Hla in Rangoon in the 1960s when Luce was forced to quit Burma (pers. comm., Christian Bauer). Also attached here is Blagden’s *Epigraphia Birmanica*, IV, Pt. 1, (1934), that includes many of the key Pegu inscriptions.

Nai Pan Hla also appended four lists of inscriptions but the sources for these lists are unstated. List No. 2 was probably based on Blagden’s manuscript. Yet another list of Mon inscriptions is found in H.L. Shorto’s *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions from the Sixth to the Sixteenth Centuries*, (1971).

For a reliable overview of Mon inscriptions, see Christian Bauer’s “The Mon Inscriptions of Thailand, Laos and Burma”. In *Writing for Eternity: A Survey of Epigraphy in Southeast Asia*. EFEO, (2018), 135-149. For the most solid review of Pegu’s Mon history, see Tun Aung Chain, “Pegu in Politics and Trade, Ninth to Seventeenth Centuries.” In *Recalling Local Pasts*, Silkworm Books, (2002), 25-52. An insightful and comprehensive work treating Buddhist relics is John S. Strong’s *Relics of the Buddha*, 2004. For the most exhaustive list of Mon inscriptions, see “Preliminary Inventory of Mon Inscriptions” @ <http://sealang.net/oldmon/>

These translations made by the Nai Pan Hla certainly contain errors of various types but only a careful examination of the stones themselves or old rubbings will yield more trustworthy readings.

Don Stadtner
Walnut Creek, California
May, 2023 / dstadtner@gmail.com

(ins. installed in temple of Kyaikmaraw Pagoda. Kyaikmaraw is 11 miles s.e of Moulmein. Also ed. by Shorto, BSOAS, XXI, (1958), pp. 361-67.

On Friday, the fullmoon of Asut (Oct.) in the year 817 (1455) Her Majesty Bana Thaw (Shin Saw Pu) granddaughter of the Lord of White elephant (Bana U) gives gifts of land and makes donation at the foot of the Kyak Moh Smin (Kyaikmaraw) in the presence of the monks (P. ceti, Middle Mon, ceti or sometimes Kyak). In and around the high land of Tko' Mbon, all Treasures and properties of wealth which arise also; such herbs and trees which yield from this place also; I donate to Kyak Mah (Kyaikmaraw, modern name). Either males or females who support it, may they obtain the great bliss (P. yasapatti) of physical world and the world beyond! In the physical world may they become such as the four richmen (P. setthi), namely Jotikasathi, Mendasathi, Dhaneneyyasathi and Punnasathi! If they } *who*
becme kings let them be as King Asoka, Dhathawana, Nandiy or Silawa. If } *tra*
they become gods (deva) let them be as Catumarhat king, king In (Indra), king Yama, king of the devas of Tussitapu, king Nimmarati or king Paranimithvasivati! In the bliss of the world beyond may they attain Buddhahood or become Paccekabut (P. Paccekabuddha) or become disciples of Buddha excelling all others! Either males or females who destroy this meritorious deed may they fall into the four hells such as Narak, Pret, Tiricchan and Asurakay! Among eight Narak may they be boiling in Sanjiva, Kalasu, Sanghata, Roruwa, Maharoruwa, Tapan, Mahatapanna (?), and Mahawik (Mahaavici)! Let them boil in Usadda hell for 128 times and for 320 times in the hell of king Yama. Let them suffer in the hell of Pret (S. Preta) such as the four Pret, namely Nimma-

mantaanapeta, Mamsapuna, Attirasi and Pabhaatakuta! Let them suffer in the four Asurakay such as Samuddadipa, Pabbatapada, Nadisota and Kannawana! Let them become in the four Sattanicchan such as Goddhabhakkha, Kannaakbhakkha, Bhanapanabhakkha and Carakawasa! When they become human beings let them serve as cleaners of water closets and disposers of corpses who are persons without ancestry!!

Kyaikmaraw no. II

U Chit Thein, 63

It is not complete ; contains twenty-four fragmentary lines. Similar to Stone insc. above. mentions son and nephew of the king and Mahasami who is dwelling in Ko' Mbon which are not found in stone insc. above. It ends in blessings on supporters of the presentations.

Shwegugyi, no. I

U Chit Thein, 82 'Mahabodhi'

Shorto: 5 4

- 1. In a city called Jarapura, a heretic**
- 2. king . . . delighted in the religion of the exalted Buddha . . .**
- 3. worshiped the Mahabodhi banyan (M.M. 'jey') tree**
- 4. to destroy after army (MM, (army) pnan) officers**
. . . . coming . . . when arriving near the Mahabodhi . . . welcoming
- 5. . . . Mahabodhi . . .**
- 6. saying . . . this place is auspicious**
- 7. . . . living . . . continuously**

Shorto

8. the kings Mahabodhi tree ...
... planted by Dheli king ..
9. one later small banyan tree
10. after ... at that time the orthodox gods (P. samaditthideva) residing
at that place considered ...
11. seing that they would destroy the banyan tree ... the gods ...
12. small banyan ... after a long time ...
13. king Dheli saw ... our good deed. ... the land
14. caused to dig all around
15. adorned with the two articles ...
16. Bodhi banyan. ... King Dheli
17. saw ... small Bodhi also ...
18. ... the good gods assumed the form ... came .. army officers .. King
Dheli fell sick
- 19 seriously .. and died. ... small Bodhi tree ... though burned with fire, it
grows up and therefore it is called Angara Bodhi

*Bodhi-angara? NK
doubtful*

Htandawgyi Sutaungpyi (A)

U Chit Thein, 85 + 86

Htandawgyi is a village near Pegu. 29 lines on two fragments. 18 m. Wp. Pegu R.

ASB 1939/40.

1921/35

Shoto/66

1. arrived
2. thousand five hundred. ... ruled that direction ... went to
3. together with many monks that is
4. to say twenty thousand 20,000

~~1446~~

5. . . reflecting that a group of his kinsmen in the previous existence had come into being in the neighbouring country of Suwanabhumi

Suwanabhumi

6. King Sirimasoka, lord of the city of Sudhuim also was our lord's kinsman in the past existence

7. having instructed the king with the doctrine and the king being pleased because he might encounter the Buddha might behold the Buddha and gives alms to Him,

8. the king requests that saint Gavampati. At that time our lord Mahathera Gavampati accepted the responsibility as requested by King Sirimasoka.

After returning to ^{Majjhimadesa} Mijjyadesa, the saint Gavampati informs all the matters to our lord Buddha ~~any other matters?~~

9. Our Lord Buddha, having heard the saying of our Lord Gavampati, because He wished to practice loving kindness towards king Sirimasoka together with the people who dwell

10. in the county of Suvannabhumi, flew over the sky together with twenty thousand saints towards the city of Sudhuim.

11. At that time, king Sirimasoka, having heard that Lord Buddha together with twenty thousands saints have arrived the city of Sudhim, being overwhelmed with joy and happy at heart came out to welcome and built

12 a great pavilion (p. pasada) and gave the great pious charity (P. mahadana) for seven days. Our Lord the exalted Buddha, during seven days having preached the Law, taught gods (devas) and men, announced that he was returning home.

13. at that time, king Sirimasoka, having realized that the exalted Buddha was going back, the king begged for an object of worship, to with an object that was if the body of the exalted Buddha, that was fit to worship Lord Buddha.

14. At that time, our exalted Buddha replied to the king thus" Oh great king, I have given objects of worship to that six hermits already. Among my hair relics, I shall not give to your Majesty now.

15. Thrity-seven years after this year, in the city of Kusinaram, in the Sal (Shorea robusta) forest at the park of King Mar (S/P. Malla) (I) Lord Buddha will attain Parinibban.

16. At that time, among my forty teeth, by virtue of the solemn asservation which I pronounced, the relic of one ^{tooth} ~~teeth~~ (M.M.nek) of mine having become thirty three, the saint Gavampati shall bring to your Majesty.

17. The 33 relics which Mahatter Gavampati would bring, your Majesty venerate and worship." Having said thus, Lord Buddha was unable to give object of worship to the king.

18. Thus after preaching the Law to King Sirimasoka together with all the people for the cuase of the prospetity and advancement of the people in furture in the country of Suvannabhūm

19 and having entered the attanment of furituion (P. phalasamaptti) in the 13 regions, returned to the country of Majjhimadesa. During 37 years from that year, during 40 years from the year he became Budddha. . .

20five years . . . by preaching the immortality of the Law that is as it was a great rain (falling) throughout the four continents which extinguished all the principles of immorality as conducted by human beings that is to say the fire

21 that destroys the universe, after performing the measure of work proper for an exalted Buddha to perform, on the fullmoon of Vaisakha (May), in the city of Kusinaram, in the Sal

22. forest at the pleasure of Mar king (Malla prince), the exalted Buddha achieved Parinibbana. At that time our lord Mahather Gavampati remembered the injunction which the Buddha has instructed, before the fire or funeral

23 pyre had been extinguished to an end, took in time, the one tooth relic (dhat) of the exalted Buddha which became 33 as vowed by the exalted Buddha, and came to give to king Sirimasok. At that time,

24. King Sirmasoka having received the 33 relics, built 33 small stone suptas (literally : dot cela ceti) and during the whole of his life span the king worshipped, revered and venerated, gave gifts and kept the precepts. Departing from that existence, the

25. king went into being in heaven. After long, no men knew to worship such relics of Buddha, the relics had become jungle and people did not know the whereabouts of them. In the 236th

26. year after the exalted Buddha attained Nibbana, our lord Maoggliputtatissa, Mahather being friendly with king Asokadhammaraja, cleared away the

27. impurities and thorns of the religion and held the Third Council. At the close of the Thrird Council, our lord

28. reflected and realized that in the future the religion would be established in foreign lands, urged the mahatheras and caused them to go to establish the

29 religion in all countries and places. At that time, our lord Sonamahathera together with Uttaramahather came and established the religion in the country of Suvannabhum. In the country of Suvannabhum the religion . . .

Buddha's SATTASATTAHATHANA (Seven Weeks surrounding Enlightenment)

(based upon U Pan Maung compilation of Pali texts published by Sudhammavati Press, Rangoon, 1940 (?) ; Nai Pan Hla does not specify which Pali texts).

cubit (Burmese-ton; Middle Mon.-hat) end of fingers to elbow

fathom (Burmese-lam; m.m.phih)

1. For the 1st week the Buddha remains under the Bodhi tree--meditation on the Paticcasamuppada (chain of causation)
2. In the second week the Awakened One stays at Animisa- n.e. of Mahabodhi, 14 fathoms distant, unwinking his eyes to clear up the suspicions of the gods--ascends up one yojana and performs miracles by issuing rays of fire and vapour.
3. In the 3rd week the Blessed one creates Ratanacankarmana (jeweled walk) a passage of gold 60 cubits long. It is 15 fathoms distant from the center-spot between Mahabodhi and Animisa. He walks to and fro (Malalasekera also says it is 3rd week in Dictionary of Pali Proper Names)
4. In the fourth week, the Omniscient One spends in the Ratanaghara (jewelled hall) created by the gods made of seven gems-40 cubits n.w. of the Bodhi tree, where he grasped the Abhidhamma Pitaka and issued 6 rays (Malalasekera also says the fourth week)
5. Gotama Buddha stays under Ajapala (goat lord) tree which is 32 fathoms east of Mahabodhi--a Brahmin Huhunka comes to pay respect. Three daughters of Mara king come for temptation in various forms and charm (Tanha, Arati, Raga). (Malalasekera says it is in the 2nd week)
6. The Buddha stays in the 6th week under Muchalinda tree near a lake--50 fathoms s.e. of Mahabodhi--when heavy rain storm come and

the Naga (serpent) king came out from his mansion and encircled seven times around the Buddha with his windings (coils) and kept his large hood over the Buddha's head. After 7 days the serpent assumed the form of a youth paying respect to the Buddha. It is said that the space of the coils was as big as the floor of Lohapasada pavilion (Malalasekara says it's in the 3rd week).

7. In the 7th week Lord Buddha meditates under Rajayatana (Buchanania Lalifolia) tree when Taphussa and Bhallika, the two merchants from Ramannadesa, came and offered honey-cakes and obtained hair relics (Malalasekhara says it is in the 4th week). *see Vinacanta.*

Mokkhaingpaya inscription

U Chit Thein, 89

Village in Pegu township; cf. Phayagyi inscription.

*at mokhaing,
Pegu Dist.*

1. . . . Reflecting that he was born in the foreign (P. paccantrah) country of Suvannabhum King Sirimasoka, the king of Suddhium also
 - 2 was his relative in the former lives
 3. With his doctrine, after instructing the king, the king was delighted and because of desiring to behold the Lord Buddha and because
 4. of willing to give gifts to Lord Buddha, the King made a request to our Lord Gavampati. At that time, our lord Gavampati having accepted the task from King Sirimasoka, flew back to
 5. Majjhamadesa. There, he informed all of the matters to Lord Buddha.
- Hearing the words of Gavampati

6 and because of having kindness and love for king Sirimasoka together with the mass of people of Suwannabhūm, came flying over the sky to the city of Sudhūm with 20,000 saints.

7. at that time, hearing the arriving of Lord Buddha together with 20,000 saints to Sudhūm, so delighted

8. and happy at heart, came out to welcome and built a great pavilion (pasada). For seven days, the king

9. gave a great offerings. For seven days, after preaching and instructing his Doctrine to all gods and the people,

10. Lord Buddha announced that he would return. At that time, King Sirimasoka, knew that Lord Buddha is about to return, begged for

11. a relic that is from the body of Lord Buddha that is fit for worshipping the Buddha. At that

6 HERMITS

12. time, Lord Buddha replied to the king thus: "Your Majesty, as I have given my bodily relics to those six hermits,

13 I am unable to give to your Majesty now. However, after 37 years from this year, I would achieve Nibbana in the district of Kusinagaram, at the garden of the Malla prince in the forest

14. of Sal trees. At that time, among my 40 teeth according to the vow, one tooth

15 relic becomes 33 relics which the great spirit Gavampati would bring to you. Your Majesty worship the relics which Gavampati

16 brings." So saying, Lord Buddha does not give a bodily relic to the king.

Thus for 7 days Lord Buddha preaches the Law to King Sirimasoka

17. together with the people and because of willing for the benefit of all beings in future.

18 in Suvannabhumi, Lord Buddha enters to meditate of his realization of attainment in 13 places. Then Lord Buddha went back to
19 Majjhimadesa. From that year after 37 years have elapsed or 45 years after enlightenment, expounding the essence of the Doctrine as if the great rain

20 all over the four continents, extinguishing the lust that are adhered in the bodies of all beings even as the fire

21. that burns out the universe--after performing all that a Buddha ought to perform, in the year the fullmoon of Basak (May)

22. in the district of Kusinaram, in the Sal forest at the park of the Malla prince, Lord Buddha achieved Nibban. At that time our Lord Gavampati remembering the Buddha's instruction

23 takes the one tooth relic which becomes thirty three before the fire of funeral pyre extinguished, and brings to king Sirimasoka

24 At that time, King Sirimasoka, after receiving the 33 tooth relics, built 33 small stone stupas to pay

25 homage, to give gifts, to pay respect and to worship for the whole life. Passing from that existence, the king went to heaven.

26. Long after that, people did not know the whereabouts of the relics and the relics were lost in the forest

27. After 236 years have elapsed for the year the Lord Buddha achieved Nibban, our lord Moggalaputtatissa being friendly with King

28 Asokadhammarat, for the sake of purifying the religion, held the Third Buddhist Council

29 At the end of the Council, our Lord observed that in future, the religion would be established in foreign countries. So our lord

30 persuaded the great saints to go and establish the religion in such lands

31 At that time, our lord Sonamahather togeteher with Uttaramahather came to establish the religion in the country of

32 Suwannabhum. After establishing the religion in the country of Suvannabhum, there are male and female monks, male and female novices.

At that time, King

33. Sirimaksoka makes a requests to the two saints (arhanta) . . . we have the Law gem and the Clergy gem (Dhamma, Rat, Sangha).

(based on Blagden's reading and U Chit Thein; cf. Phayagyi inscription)

Htalupaya inscription 804 / 1442 A.D.

U Chit Thein, no. 61

(at Kyaiklat Town, near Bassein)

1. 804 (1442 A.D.) on seventh religious waxing of the month of Gathuik (Skt. Kartika=November)

2. 6th waxing of Hakhraura (unclear), on Friday at the rising planet Libra (Skt. Lagna tula), the season ?

3. Sutta (silk?), Punna tithi ansa 25 pubbasa

4. naksat (Skt. naksatra) sign, 14 bijana (seeds; essential elements) enshrined the relics (dhat) in this pagoda.

B.

1. The meritorious deeds holder Siwaka by name together with attendants was the donor

2. of the pagoda.

The Seven-Pagoda Mon Inscription (small stone) U Chit Thein, no. 65^{or} 67?

(2 faces. A, 18 lines; B, 11 lines)

1469 A.D.

831 BE

1421
Kyaik PAW

Shanto / 50?

A. (obverse)

1. Reverence to the Buddha. These seven pagodas were built long ago by
2. Queen Mahasubhadda, chief queen of
3. king Mahatissa, lord of Hansawati kingdom. Due to lengthy duration
4. since they were erected, and the treasure seekers' destruction in diggings, they were all destroyed completely. (treasure seekers: mni h glayrat)
6. Later on when 2013 years have elapsed from the year the lord of merit
7. the exalted Buddha achieved Nibbina (Skt. nirvana), a
8. prosperous queen namely Sri Tribhuwan
9. nadityaprawaradharmajetralokyanathaprawaramahadhammarajadhiraja
10. devi who is full of virtues such as dana (charity), sila (right conduct), samadhi
11. (steadfastness) and jana (sp.?) (knowledge or wisdom), together with a precious son
- 12 by the name Ramadhipati Sri Parama Mahadharamma
- 13 Rajadhiraja, reigning the royal power of the city of Hansawati
14. according to law, conducting the ten rules of a king, causes to rebuild these
15. seven pagodas very firmly as
- 16 they are in ruins. Enshrining all the
17. old relics not be destroyed, a lot of new
- 18 relics also put together

Shinsambu

mor
Kings

Shansawati

source?

B (reverse)

4 Directions

19. In each stupa, four Buddha images

20 made of bronze (m.m.slak) are placed at four cardinal points (desa),

dedicating the relics with 7 precious gems after

22 which these seven pagodas are

23 erected in the year 831 (1469) 1st waxing of the month of Mak (Skt.

Magha, February) on Wednesday at Nanda tittha Sravana Naksat

Vuddhiyoga Lak Bruih (Skt, Vrisha = the rising constellation Taurus)

24 ?

25. All the meritorious deeds, the virtues of this good action of the two
monarchs

26 mother and son, may go to all

27 beings. May the virtues be the cause to get the freedom to escape the
suffering of sansa (p. sansara).

28. May this virtue be the cause in future to obtain the wisdom of

29. Sabbannutanan! (p. sabbanutanana=wisdom of
omniscience=Buddhahood)

(based on Blagden's reading and notes)

Seven-Pagoda inscription II (big stone)

1469 A.D.

shinto, 50?
1470

in Pegu Dist.

1921/18?

(Blagden's ms. mentions as v.c. 33 Pegu Kyaukdainggan village, in the compound of Appadukaphu--"an Indian richman's house"--sounds like a Tamil name to me) See ASB 1958-59. name is ABDUL Gafoor.

Based on Bladen's readings and U Chit Thein's conjecture words in the text. See the legendary story of Subbhadda (also known as Behaddradevi) and a heretic king Tissa in the history of Pegu in Harvey's History of Burma.

1.

2. ... yo ... after ...

3. ... At that time, king Tissa was very astonished and highly admired the young

4. lady Subhadda and placed her as his chief queen. All the Buddha images are properly washed and (he?) built a temple where the images decended and put them for worship.

5. The king was delighted and adhered to the Buddha images and raised his hands to pay homage and worshipped.

6. At that time, the people saw such a miracle and uttered : "Hey folks, the Buddha flies! Hey folks, the Buddha flies". Because of such saying, the image are known as Kyak Paw (flying Buddha)

7. Later on, the king together Queen Subhaddha caused to build seven pagodas enshrining the images and called them as Kyaik Paw

8. The king, after seeing the miracle of the Buddha images, felt so pleased and delighted in the religion. Later,

9 the king caused to collect the images and said : "These images have been neglected by me and were thrown out in an unproper place. Now together with this young damsel Subhadda

TISSA
neglects
images

10 I have washed and cleaned them and I have placed these Buddha
images in the suitable place. At this time, for the sake of performing merit
in building stupa for this young lady

11. to be named as Kyaik Paw, I would like the people to wash and clean the
images at the pond in the north of the city Hansawati so as to build the
stupas

12. for this young lady Sudbhadda. " After saying that the king causes the
people to collect the images and said: "Dear

13. people, take all the images to wash with perfume water in the pond at
the north of

14. Hansavati city." The people said among themselves, "We must take the
images out to the pond at the north of the city to wash

15 with water and then clean with fragrant water." After saying that they
took out

16 the images and washed with pond water and again with perfume water
and placed the images near the pond at the north of

18. the city Hansawati. At that time, king Tissa together with Queen
Subhadda caused to build the seven pagodas of Kyaik Paw (flying Buddha)
in

19. which the images are enshriend. In erecting the stupas, each one is 20
fathoms high built in

20 a row. For the people to pay hoamge to the seven Kyaik Paw Pagodas, a
pavilion is built

21. on the the north side of the pagodas. For the people who have desire for water, a Prasat (skt, prasada) is caused to build at the pond near the pagodas. In such a way, the king

22. and queen were able to build the Kyaik Paw pagodas and pavilion to pay homage to the Buddhas and to construct a building with tiered roof for drawing water from the pond, the king went

23. up to the edge of the forest and found auspicious earth and brought it and built the Kyaik Paw Pagodas for Queen Subhadda. Queen Sudhadda

24. and King Tissa after building the seven stupas--enshring the images, had lived to their life-span and finally all passed away.

25. Later on, when His Majesty Ramadhaipati Sri Parama Mahadharmmaraja

26. dhirat together with His Majesty mother namely Queen Sri Tribhuwanadhityaprawaradharmmajetra

27 lokyanathaprawaramahadharmmarajadhirajadewi, ruling the kingdom of Hansawati, the seven pagodas built by Subhadda were

28. in ruin. By seeing this, the two majesties, mother and son, have such a thought " In this location the seven pagodas which were built

29. by Subhadda are really destroyed. We must not let this place be ruined. Just like before, the seven pagodas should be built." After considering

30. thus, they caused to prepare all the sites properly to build the seven pagodas. In the year 831 (1469 A.D.) the first waxing of Mak (Feb.) on Wednesday these Kyaik Paw pagodas are built. 1470

1469
Shinto.
1480

Mucalinda Inscription 841 (1479 A.D.)

U Chit Thein, no. 75

1921/21
shorto/60

Muncalinda Inscription; see U Lu Pe Win's report and translation in ASB, A.R. year 1938-39, p. 23. (Lord Buddha spent his Third week under this tree).

- 1. At the time our exalted Lord Buddha completes seven days of his stay under the Ajapala tree (goat=herd banyan), the exalted Lord Buddha rises up and walks**
- 2. towards south direction and reaches the bank of the Mucalinda lake and under the Mucalinda tree which is situated at the eastern side of the lake and rather falling a little towards south**
- 3. it is to say in the southeast (agnay) direction (Skt. agneya, southeast) of the Mahabodhi, the exalted Buddha sits for seven days enjoying the bliss of (P. wimuttisukha) emancipation.**
- 4. At that time, a heavy rain storm occurs with cold wind blowing from all around without stop. At that time,**
- 5. the Naga king of Mucalinda, because of not being willing for the exalted Buddha to be touched by rain or cold wind, with his body he coils seven rounds around the exalted Buddha and shelters the exalted Buddha with his hood. The area**
- 6. of the coil for the Buddha to live is as big as the size of a pavilion**
- 7. At completing seven days, he entirely reduces his windings of serpent body and assumes the form of a bachelor and attends the exalted Buddha with reverences.**

8. At the site of the Mucalinda (L. Barringtonia Racimasa) tree which is to say it is the place of enjoyment of the exalted Buddha--former pious kings who were generous and adhered to the faith starting from king

Asokadhammarat

9. built a pagoda called Mucalinda pagoda and performing meritorious deeds and worshiped continuously since then. In our country of Ramannadesa also imitating this site of Mucalinda

10. pagoda so as to say according to the distance and situation from Mahabodhi model, His Majesty Lord of White elephants issued order to an official namely Yogarat, who is the

11. governor of Hamsawati (City of Brahmanidevata) also called Pago (lit.=beautiful) to build this Mucalinda pagoda in the year 841 (1479 A.D.)

12 the 5th waning of the month Asat (July) on Thruday at lak min (Skt., lagna mina) the rising planet of Pisces.

"Ban kwew engraved the writing"

6 HAIR RELICS

Dhammathaika Pagoda inscription

U Chit Thein, 88

Myin Mangu village, Kawa township

intr. rep. 33

(20 fragmentary lines ; cf. Kelasa mon inscription)

in Pegu.
shorto, no. 76-77
no donor, no date
1915 A.D. 1921/29

Shorto list
from Pegu
Kawa is
ten miles
S. of Pegu
(on Pegu R.)

1. . . . paying homage and worshiped. Out of six hermits one hermit dwells at the edge of the forest . . .
2. It is towards west . . . obtains a hair relic of the exalted Buddha. When he comes back to his hermitage, two other hermits living together approached him saying :
3. "reverend Sir, you have obtained the hair relic of the exalted Buddha for
4. worship. But we have not received such relic of the exalted Buddha to worship."
5. At that time, the senior hermit replies: "Reverend sirs, if two of you say so, let three of us make a vow . . ."
6. After that they make a solemn asservation. "Oh, our reverend the Blessed One, having great compassion (p. mahakaruna) and fulfilling the prosperity to all beings if it is true that our lord, the exalted
7. Buddha being so, let this one hair relic become three for three of us to worship." After a while, as vowed by the three hermits, that one hair relic becomes three.
8. At that time, the senior hermit takes one hair relic and builds a stone stupa to worship. The middle hermit takes one hair relic and builds a stone stupa at his
9. dwelling place to worship. The young hermit takes also one hair relic and builds a stone stupa at his dwelling place to worship.
10. From that time all the hermits lived according to their life-span and they all passed away.

stone
stupa

11. After a long time, such places became jungle and people did not know the existence of the relics there. From the year the exalted Buddha achieved Nibbana 236 years had elapsed,

12. our two saints namely Sonather and Uttarather sent by our saint Moggalatissamahather to establish the religion in the country of this

SONA - Uttar

13. Suwannabhum. When the religion has been established in

Suwannabhum having male and female novices and male and female monks, king Sirimasoka comprehends our two great saints

14. "reverend Sirs, since my lords have arrived in our land, we could pay respect and worship the Dharma gem, the Sangha gem but we have

15. no object of worship (relic of the Buddha) to pay homage and to worship. Would our lords search for us?" At that

16. time the two great saints show the King Sirimasoka (Jr.) all the 33 tooth relics which were brought to the great king Sirimasoka (Sr.) by our great saint Gavampati that he enshrined in 33 pagodas which were

17. concealed and also the hair relics which were enshrined in the stone stupas by the hermits that had disappeared in the jungle. At that time king Sirimasoka ^{Sr.} (Jr.) causes to rebuild all the old

tooth and
hair
stupa
disappear

18. pagodas of tooth relics and hair relics. Pavilions are also built.

19. Starting from that time, all the kings ruling the Rman (Rman(Mon); Old Mon-Rmen; Middle Mon-Man) country and also the people who dwell in the Mon country from time to time pay homage, perform good deeds and worship. The stupas of tooth relics

20. of the exalted Buddha . . .

the Stupa in the forest at west side of the city known as Jayabhum. . . . Siridhammasok. . . Sudhuim (Sudhammapura) . . . that brought back the hair relics.

PEGN
or
that on ?

Bowl

Shwegugyi Inscription III

840

1478 A.D.

Shanto, no. 56
donor - governor
A. Prer

cf. The Legend of Gotama, I, pp. 82-3, by Bigandet. U Chit Thein, no. 71

"Suppatitha Pagoda Inscription" (17 fragmentary lines)

now in ins.
shed at

1. At that time the Bodhisat (sic) received the golden bowl full of
(milk-rice) under the Ajapala banyan

Kyanki pya
Kyanki

2 and walks down to bank of Neranjara river,

prob. one from
south, since

3. leaving the golden bowl, the Bodhisat immersed himself in the water of
Neranjara river to cool down his body.

n. one has
ins. in situ

4. Later, the Bodhisat eats 49 handfuls of milk-rice--each handful is
equivalent to the size of a fruit of the pal (p. tala)

5. After partaking the milk-rice, the Bodhisat goes down to the river and
washes his mouth and feet. . . .

6. After that the Bodhisat makes a vow. "Today, if I could certainly become
the Buddha, let this golden bowl (go upstream) ! "

7. After saying that the Bodhisat places the golden bowl on the water and
pushed

8 it out and it goes upstream for four hat (p. hatha=cubit, a measure from
elbow to tips of fingers) and reaches the mouth of a small river . . . and at

cubit

Neranjara river the bowl dives down to the bottom of the earth and
reaches the abode of Kala Naga King (seprent king) (rests)

9 under the Kayons (dishes or bowls) of the three previous Buddhas such
as Kakkusan (Kakkusanda), Konaguim (Konagamana) and Kassapa.

10. At the mouth of the small river . . . it goes down. . . . Later on the small
river was known as Kanakkasothi.

11. By seeing the bowl going upstream for eighty cubits and sinks in this

12. river--the Bodhisat says : "Certainly I would become Buddha!" and feels happy at heart.

13. Bodhisat returns to the ghat of Suppatitha which is the common site of the Buddhas to which pious kings of yor

14 came to worship and did meritorious deeds, after (building) Suppatittha (pagoda)

* 15 In this our Ramannadesa also, imitating the model of Suppatittha pagoda (causing to found) according to its angle and (plan) *

worshiping?

16 His majesty, Lord of (white) elephants (caused) the governor of Sren whose name is Lord Syen to ...

Governor

17. in the year 840 (1478 A.D.) the 5th waning of the month of Asat (skt. asadha, the fourth lunar month corresponding to July) on Thursday at lak min (Skt. lagna=the rising of planet Pisces), caused to build the Suppatitha pagoda.

for the 5th. fifth?

Shwegugyi Inscription IV

U Chit Thein, 74 841 ; 1479

donor -
Phomocithir
daughter and
husband

(Pegu Nahana Pagoda inscription) 10 fragmentary lines

1. . . suitably ministers his person (cool down his body) . . .

2. . . . after saying . . . descends to

3. the shore of the river . . .

4. . . . at the foot of the tree . . .

now in
"Stone pavement monastery
shed"

5. . . . at this site which the Buddha ministers his person, the previous

6. pious kings beginning from king Asokadhammarat who were adhered to the religion built a pagoda and called it (Nahana pagoda).

7. In our country of Ramannadesa also, imitating those at (Mahabodhi)

8. according to its model, position and plan of Nahana pagoda. . . His

Majesty Lord of the White Elephants

9. causes his daughter princess Talamew (sp.?) Wandawati together with her husband

10. In the year (841, the 5th waning of the month Asat on Thursday at lak min to build the Nahana pagoda).

(based on Blagden's reading and U Chit Thein's conjectured words)

Shwegugy Inscription V 841 1479 A.D.

U Chit Thein, 72

*ins. in sculpt-
shed of stone
pavement monaster*

(Pegu Diwawihara Pagoda inscription)

1. At that time the Bodhisat after throwing the dish-bowl ascends

2 from the Suppatittha ghat to the pleasant shade

3 of the Sal tree in the Sal park near the Suppatittha ghat which is suitable to

4. rest to get peace of mind, the Bodhisat takes rest.

5. For one day the Bodhisat mediates at Diwawihara monastery. In the evening

6. the Bodhisat sees the Sal flowers (p. sala, shorea robusta) dropped down

7. all over his body, he considers : "I better minister (to) myself" So saying

8. The Bodhisat comes out from the Suppatittha ghat and walks down to Neranjara river. . .

9. At this site. . . Diwawihara . . . Former kings who were generous and

10. adhered to the religious beginning from King Asokadhammarat built Diwawihara pagoda and worshipped.

11. In this our country of Ramannadesa also, imitating that of Diwawihara pagoda according to its model, position and plan

12. His majesty Lord of White elephants together with (princess namely Tala) May Knok

13. together with her husband ... governor of Camrandun caused to build

14. Diwawihara pagoda in the year

15. 841 (1479) the 5th waning of the month Asat (July) on Thrudsay at lak min (the rising of constellation Pisces).

Kyaikmakaw

PALe

U Chit Thein, 95

inscription in Phalay village, Pegu Township

ASB. 1914. par. 42. +
pp. 6

1914. 1921/44.

poss. 4 miles from Kawa

1. Randanaguiw one ...

2. also one

3. hearing the news of the arrival of Lord Buddha

4. Lord Buddha also

5. begged from Lord Buddha

6. my lord the exalted Buddha

7. ... pagoda ... to worship. ... Buddha

8. Lord Buddha rubbed his head and obtained six hair relics the six hermits

9. having taken back to their dwelling places ... enshrined in the stupas

10. One hermit who lives [at the west of the middle forest] having brought back the hair relic to his dwelling place, was approached by

11. two other hermits who live in the same forest. They said : "Reverend Great Hermit, you have

12. got an object of worship that is hair relic of the Lord Buddha for you to worship. But two

for
6 HAIR
RELICS
Randanaguiw

see
Kelasa ins. p. 34 int.
u. L. Thein 91

6 hairs

13 of us got no such relic to worship." At that time the great hermit replied to the two hermits, if two of you said so, let three of us pray and make a vow" Then make a solemn asservation: --

14. "Reverend Lord Buddha, you have great pity towards all beings and fulfilling the prosperity of all beings, if such are true, May this one your hair relic become three for all three of us to worship" So saying, after for a while ... the three hermits

(based on Blagden's reading and U Chit Thein)

Monetpaya

U Chit Thein, 90

1921/30.

1915.

Inscription in Phuchaung Village, Kawa Township. Similar to Dhammathaik Mon Inscription. 42 lines, 29 of which very illigible

HAIR + TEETH
RELICS

1. King Sirima

2. Sirma

3.

4. exalted Buddha

5-9.

10. come

11.

12. ... that

13. ... exalted Buddha

14. stone

15. forest

16. ... that is to be be

17. delighted and happy at heart

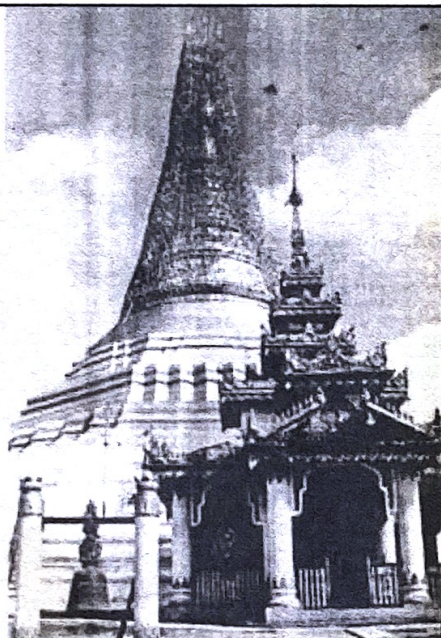
18. ... all at that time.

19. . . my lord the Blessed One having merits . .
20. . . at that time the Buddha rubbed his head . .
21. . . edge of the forest . . .
22. . . . hair relics of the exalted Buddha . . .
23. . . . "Reverend lord hermit the great . . .
24. . . we two have no objects of
25. worship . .
- 26-29 . . .
30. Builds a stone stupa at his place to worship. The
31. young hermit also takes one hair relic and builds a stone stupa to worship at his place.
32. From that time, the hermits lived according to their life-span and passed away. For a long time after that, people did know the places of such relics and they were lost in
33. the jungle. For the year Lord Buddha achieved Nibban, 236 years had elapsed, as persuaded by our great Lord Moggalaputtatissa our two lords namely Sonamahathera (sp.?) and Uttaramahatthera came to establish the religion in the country of Suwannabhūm. As
34. monks, nuns, male and female novices are there . . . but . . . King Sirimasoka supplicates the two saints thus : "Reverend our Lords . . .
35. since your arrival, we have the Law gem and Clergy gem to venerate and worship. We would like to venerate and worship the bodily relics of Lord Buddha.
36. Shall our lords search out for us? At that time, the two great saints show king Sirimasoka all the 33 tooth relics which were brought by our lord the great Saint Gawamapati to king Sirimasoka the great and which were

*Dhamma,
Sangha
relics*

*tooth
relics*

Maha
Wijayayanthi
Pagoda at
Phayagyi
Model
Village,
Bago
Township.



On 30 November, Secretary 1 of the State Peace and Development Council General Khin Nyunt and party made a day trip to Bago and its environs to inspect on going works in preservation of cultural heritage sites infrastructure building and economic development. The first place of visit was Phayagyi a model village about ten miles to the north of Bago, where an old Pagoda named 'Phayagyi' is situated. The village at the junction of the Yangon-Mandalay highway and railway is sprawling into a minor town. There is another village called Phayagale in its neighbor hood, where a smaller pagoda stands. The name of these two villages are derived from Phayagyi and Phayagale pagoda, which figure prominent in local history.

In the Aung Setkya preaching hall in the pagoda precinct the Pagoda Trustees briefed Secretary 1 and party on the background history of the Pagoda and renovation work they had already, started. We learnt from the trustees that the Pagoda was repaired, by one Monk Sayadaw from Yangon who gave it the name Maha Vijaya Yanthi. The site where it stands is Savanna Mandala. When I walked around the Pagoda compound I found one stone inscription in old Mon language and two bronze bells with inscribed letters. Secretary 1 and party visited a wooden monastery Sarthintaik and Secretary 1 supplicated to him about the renovation of the Phayagyi Pagoda. After receiving ovada from him we left for other places.

The home work this trip gave me was the old Mon stone inscription and the Phayagyi's past. The names of Phayagyi and Phayagale are quite familiar to me since my younger days. Particularly Phayagyi is a landmark on the Yangon-Mandalay highway, we used to pass by it quite often. I went to the reference library of Archaeology Department and dug up the past of this pagoda. On page 122, volume A of Pegu District gazetteers compiled by Mr A J Page, ICS, settlement officer and published in 1917 the following brief references are found:

"Payagale-the old headquarters of the township, but now an ordinary village with a police station. There is a railway station here. Payagyi- A notified railway town with a bungalow. The Pagoda is one of a line of pagodas along the old minlan. It was built by Nga Ga Yu, son of a minister of one of the early Pegu kings. It contains some inscriptions. The village is a road Centre" Though no reference is given in the gazetteer regarding the history of the Pagoda the compiler must have obtained much information from the local authorities.

Assuming that the Mon inscription would throw some light upon my search for the Phayagyi's origin, I turned to archaeological reports and records. The archaeological Annual Report of 1914 mentions that a Mon stone inscription was found in the precinct of Phayagyi Pagoda. Also in the Appendix No 22 of Epigraphic Beimanicy 6 volumes is found an ink rubbing and English translation of the said Mon inscription. The next discovery is the copy of the said Mon inscription and Myanmar translation of it in the book old Mon inscriptions published by Archaeology Department in 1965. It was a compilation by U Chit Thang, Research, Officer who translated Mon inscriptions into Myanmar. On pages 89-90 of this book he gave Myanmar translation. There are 62 lines on the stone slab but only 43 lines are legible due to damages caused by elements, says the compiler. From the remark he made in the book, we learn that the Phayagyi Mon inscription belongs to the medieval period, 14th & 15th centuries.

The 43 lines that are legible tell us the story of the arrivals of, **Buddha** sasana in Ramanna desa, Mon kingdom: The first arrival was in the Lifetime of the **Buddha**, who came there at the request of Ashin Gavampati. King Thirimar of Mon kingdom people after receiving the dhamma from the living **Buddha** embraced Buddhism. The second arrived was in the time of emperor Asoka who sent out religious missions abroad. The mission that came to Suvanna Bhumi Thaton was headed by two Maha Theras Sonna and Uttara. They preached **Buddha** Dhamma and showed the sites where 33 stone stupas enshrining 33 tooth relics of the **Buddha** were built in the time of Ashin Gavampati. The stupas were repaired and renovated.

That much we learn from the 421 lines. The erased 191 lines may contain facts about Phayagyi and its donor.

From the data so far collected we glean firstly that Phayagyi was built by Nga Ga Yu, son of a minister of one Bago King, secondly as it is located on the side of old Minlan (Royal highway) it must have some historical significance and thirdly the stone inscription being the work of the medieval period, its date may be ascribed to the reign of Mon king Dhammzedi (A.D. 1472-1492).

37. enshrined in 33 stone stupas which were disappeared and also the hair relics which

38. were enshrined in the stupas by the hermits and lost in jungle. At that time, all the hair relics and tooth relics which

39. were enshrined in the stone stupas the king caused to rebuild with pavilions. From that time onwards, all the kings who ruled over the Rman country and also the mass of the people who live

40. the Mon country venerated, gave gifts and worshipped. Hair relic pagoda at the east . . . Sirdhammasok. . .

41. this stone.

42. . . . Lord of white elephants . .

(Based on Bladgen and U Chit Thein)

Phayagyi

848/ 1486 A.D.

U Chit Thein, 87

List/22.

19 14.

(situated in the compound of the big pagoda in Phayagyi village, 10 miles north of Pegu. one slab, 67 lines)

1. In the year 848 (1486) the 3rd waning of the month Srawan (Skt. sravana=August) on Sunday. Our lord Buddha having fulfilled the perfections to come Buddha at the foot of the exalted Buddha (Dipankara).

2. Fulfilling the perfections--that is to say the thirty perfections . . . for long

3. . . . like that . . . sitting on the throne under the Bodhi tree . . . the Mara's army attacked

4. the Bodhisat . . . lord . . . conducted cut off

5. all ... the Bodhisat ... that is to say the wisdom of Sabbanutanān (Omniscience)

6. ... fully enlightened to become the exalted Buddha. In the eighth year after becoming the Omniscient One, the Lord having compassion toward all

7. beings ... together with twenty thousand saints ... arrived in the city of Mituiw (P. Mithila). At that time, the great saint Gavampati (a native of Mithila who joined the order at the age of seven. He is well known as the Mon saint. Popular as co-founder of Sri Ksetra and protector of Pagan in Old Mon inscriptions) reflects his previous existence where he was born in a foreign country of Suwannabhūm. Seeing the group of

9. his former relatives there, the king of Suddhuim--king Sirimasoka was also his relative (note: his brother in the legend) in the past existence, our lord preached so much of the Buddha's doctrine to the king and the king having acquired faith (converted) and rejoiced and desired

11. to make alms-giving to the Buddha. The king makes a request to our lord the great saint Gavampati. At that time, our lord Gavampati takes the responsibility as requested

12. by king Sirimasoka and then flew back to Mithuiw city. There he informed all the events to our lord the exalted Buddha

13. By hearing the words of our lord Gavampati, our lord the exalted Buddha because of having kindness and love for king Sirimasoka together with

14. the people who are living in the country of Suwannabhūm, came flying over the sky together with twenty thousand saints and reached the city of Sudhūm. At that time, king

15. Sirimasoka, having heard the news of the arriving of the exalted Buddha together with 20,000 saints to Sadhuim, being full of joy and happy at

heart, came out to welcome and built a temporary huge pavilion. Our lord

16. the Enlightened One, after preaching the Law for seven days to the gods and all the people, announced of his going back home. At that time,

King Sirimasoka

17. knew that the exalted Buddha is about to return, begged for an object of worship, that is to say an object

18. from the body of the Buddha which is suitable to worship on behalf of the Buddhas. At that time, our lord the exalted Buddha replied to the king

thus : "Your Majesty, as

19. I have already given such object of worship to those six hermits, I am unable to give to your Majesty now. However, after 37 years have passed from this year

20. I would achieve Nibban at the park of king Mar (P. Malla) in the Sal forest in the jurisdiction of Kusinaram city

21. At that time out of 40 of my teeth, according my my vow, one tooth becomes 33 which the great saint Gavampati would bring--at which your Majesty pay homage,

22. offer and worship." So saying the Buddha does not give any object of worship to the king. Thus after preaching the Doctrine to king Sirimasoka together with all the people, because of

23. willing for the prosperity of all beings in the future in the country of Suwannabhum, the Buddha enters his meditation of realization of attainment (P. phalasamapatti) in 13 places. After that

24. the exalted Buddha went back to Majjhimadesa. After 37 years from that year or 45 years from becoming Buddha, having

25 preached the Doctrine as if the great rain . . . all the four continents,
extinguished all the lust which are adhered in all beings,
26. that is to say, the fire which destroys the universe. When all works that
a Buddha is suitable to do had been performed, in the year. . .
.. the month of Basak (Skt. Vaisakha, May),
27. the exalted Buddha achieved Nibban at the garden of Mar king of the
Sal forest in the jurisdiction of the city of Kusinaram. At that time, our lord
the great saint Gavampati, remembering the instruction that
28. Buddha has instructed him to do, before the fire of funeral pyre
extinguished, took one tooth relic of the exalted Buddha which became 33,
as vowed by the Buddha
29. and brought to king Sirimasoka. At that time, after getting the 33 relics
king Sirimasoka built 33 relics king Sirimasoka built 33 small stone stupas
and for the whole life,
30. the king pays homages, makes offerings, takes precepts and worships.
Passing away from that existence, the king goes to
31. heaven. After a long time, no one knows about the presence of the
Buddha's relics/ The relics are covered in the jungle/ People do not know
such places. From the year that the exalted Buddha achieved
32. Nibban, 236 years have elapsed, our lord Moggalaputtatissa Mahather,
being friendly with king Asokadhammarat, in order to purify the religion,
to clean
33. out the thorns (impurities) of the religion, held the third Buddhist
Council. At the conclusion of the Council, our lord
34. observed that the religion would be established in foreign lands. So he
persuaded the senior monks to establish the religion in those countries. At
that

month

35. time, our great Lord Sonather, together with Uttaramahather, came to establish the religion in the country of Suwannabhūm.

36. After establishing the religion in the country of Suwannabhūm, ... there were male and female novices, male and female monks ...

37. king Sirimasoka supplicates two senior saints : "Reverend sirs, since your arrival in our land, we

38. could pay homage, make offerings and worship both the gem of the Doctrine, and the Church gem. We would like to do the same to the Buddha gem. But we

39. have none. Would you search for us?" At that time, our two great saints, show the king all the 33 tooth relics which our great saint Gavampati brought to ~~to~~ the former great king Sirimasoka which the king enshrined in 33 stone stupas

40. which were concealed in the jungle and also the hair relics that were enshrined in stupas by the hermits which were covered

41. in the forest. At that time, the king causes to rebuilt all the 33 tooth relic pagodas with 33 pavilions and the 6 hair relic-pagodas and worshipped

*sona
uttara
rebuilt
tooth-relic
stupas*

42-49--illigible

50. From that time onwards all the kings who ruled the Rman (mon) country together with the great mass of the Mon country. ...

51. together with the king

52. thirty three the exalted Buddha

53. Buddha after

54. At that time ... the king ..

55. also ... the king ...

56. the king ...

57. Long time after that . .

58. the King . . .

59. the king . . . In this forest . . .

60. the stupas with the tooth relics lying in the forest . . .

61. In the time of his Majesty king . . . a rich man by the name . . .

pavilion . . . caused to make a big scaffolding (encasement)

62. In the reign of His Majesty Sri Rajadhirat, minister Udin, son of the rich man (treasurer)

63. In the reign of Her Majesty Sri

Tribhuwanadityapawaradharma-Trialikyanathamahadhaammarajadhirajad ewi, together with a son of hers, namely (Sri Ramadhipati)

64. The pagoda built by minister Udin has been in ruins, His majesty Ramadhipati Sri Paramamaharajadhammarajadhirat caused to encase and enlarge.

65 Starting from that time . . the pagoda . . . after . . . In the year (848) the month of Bhat (Skt. Bhadra=September) the 3rd waxing on

66. Friday . . . Ya Sin Tarema wrote this writing . . .

67. servant of his Majesty, an Indian stone carver engraved.

Based on Bladgen's reading and U Chit Thein. engraving started in August and finished in September in the year 848 (1486).

CB: in u. c. thein - only 43 lines

Dispersed (?)
tooth relic

HAIR RELICS

f ANNGZUR village
orig. findspot
1921/31. 1914

Kelasa Inscription (A)

U Chit Thein, no. 91

1. . . . From the year the exalted Buddha . . .
2. . . . together with 20,000 saints
3. . . . observed that this relatives in the former lives are born in the foreign country of Suwannabhum . . .
4. King Sirimasoka, the lord of the City of Sudhum also his relative in the previous existence (his younger brother in Mon tradition)
5. After preaching the Law and instructions given, the king was so pleased and delighted to venerate Lord Buddha
- 6 to behold Lord Buddha and give gifts to Lord Buddha. So the king made a request to our lord Gavampati. At that
7. time, our lord the great saint Gavampati promised to undertake the task and went back to Majjhimadesa. There, he informed all matters to Lord Buddha. By hearing the
8. report of Gavampati. Lord Buddha, because of having kindness and love for kng Sirimasoka together with the people living
9. in Suwannabhum, came flying in the sky to the city of Sudhuim together with 20,000 saints. At that time, King Sirsimasoka hearing that Lord Buddha together with
10. 20,000 saints are arriving at Sudhium, felt happy at heart, delighted and came out to welcome and built a
11. great pavilion. For 7 days the king gave his great offerings. Lord Buddha after preaching and instructing his Doctrine to the gods and people for 7 days,
12. announced that he would return. At that time, the lord hermit

Shorto, 72,
73.

ADDENDUM
to 73.
w/ date,
1486.

Shorto - XXXII

pavilion

13. . . one at the Mt. Kelasa . . . lord hermit dwelling at the middle of the forest of Randanaguiw ; lord hermit . . . at Randanaguiw
14. one; lord hermit dwelling in the forest situated to the west of the middle of the forest . . .
15. at the east of the city of Asitanjananaguiw (Rangoon) one; all the six hermits having heard the news, came flying through the,
16. sky, and venerated and attended Lord Buddha. Lord Buddha . . .
17. instructed all the gods and the mass of the people, announced of his return. At that time, the six hermits knew the manner of Lord Buddha . . .
18. supplicated to Lord Buddha thus : "Reverend Lord Buddha, lord of merit, . . .
19. Let us give gifts, venerate and worship" At that time, Lord Buddha rubbed his head and obtained six hairs and
20. gave to the six hermits. At that time the six hermits took back the hair relics to the their dwelling places
- 21 venerates, gives gifts and worships. Among the six hermits, the hermit who dwells at the west of the middle forest, obtains one hair relic and
- 22 when arrived at his hermitage, two other hermits dwelling in the same forest approached and informed him. : "Reverend
23. Great Hermit, you have obtained an object of worship, that is to say Buddha's hair relic to worship. Our lord could venerate
- 24 give gifts and worship. But two of us got no such object of worship!!"
25. At that time, the senior hermit replies to the two junior hermits: "Reverend lord, two hermits, if two of you say so, let all of us pray and make a vow" So Saying

in Jm
p. 24

hermits

26 they make a solemn asservation : "Reverend Lord Budha, having great pity and fulfilling the benefit of all beings, if that is true, this one hair relic of Lord Buddha,

27 may become three. So that all three of us could worship."

28. For a while after saying that, as vowed by the three hermits, the one hair relic becomes three. At that time,

total
8 relics

29. the senior hermit takes one hair relic and builds a stone stupa at his dwelling

30. place to worship. The middle hermit takes one hair relic and build a
31 stone stupa to worship. From that time all the hermits living according to
32. their life-span and passed away. Long time after that such relics were
unknown and lost in the forest.

33. Two hundred and thirty six years after Lord Buddha achieved Nibban,
our lord Moggalaputtatissa persuade

.....

Mon, Apr 3, 2023 at 11:53 AM

Christian Bauer <christian.bauer@staff.hu-berlin.de>

o: Stadtner Don <dstadtner@gmail.com>

Don,

here is my translation of line 17-18 of inscr. #92 (Chit Thein's line 1 is actually line 2, line 1 on stone being illegible -- he never counts those); so you have to add these two lines to the very end of Nai Pan Hla's translation:

line 17: . . . ॥ From the year in which the Holy One reached parinibbān being two thousand twenty-nine years ॥ In the era

line 18: . . . waxing, a Wednesday ॥ The Lord of the (White) Elephant xxxxx
(rā)mādhīpati śrīparama(ma)hādhammarājādhīrat who . . .

That is the last line of the inscription.

What follows is a four (?) line graffiti added later, in a totally different hand, most of which is illegible, it begins with line 1 sakkarāt, line 2 dhamama (sic, for dhamma); I can't make out the rest. The engraving is much shallower.

(1486 CE)

What counts is 2029, a Wednesday, during a waxing cycle (had we the number of day in that cycle, we would be able to determine the exact day).

The fact that Chit Thein's text ends at line 16 (his 15) is, I am sure, due to the fact that his rubbing was cut off there. I know for a fact that Mme Saveros Pou-Lewitz (of EFEO, Paris) had a similar case in Middle Khmer where she 'omitted' 4 lines at the end; an alternative published rubbing (unknown to Pou) showed the complete text down to the bottom.

That is a mere accident.

Lines 17-18 are integral part fo the inscription, so the date is safe.

That he treats #92 and #91 as two different inscriptions (DMI 72 and DMI 73 resp.) is the usual muddle when people haven't seen the actual stone, and have only the rubbing in hand. Just like DMI 63 and DMI 64 which is actually a single stone, split into two pieces, one in situ, one in the monastery shed.

1. Since our lords have come to our land, we could worship the Law gem, the clergy gem. The object of worship, that is to say the bodily relic of the Lord Buddha, which we would like to worship, shall our lords search out for us?" At that

3. time, the two great saints show to King Sirimasoka (Jr.) all the 33 tooth relics brought to king Sirmasoka (Sr.) by the great saint Gavampati which were

4. enshrined in 33 stone stupas which are unknown now, also the hair relics which were built by the hermits which are now lost in the jungle. At that time the king caused

teeth

5. to rebuild all the tooth and hair relics

6. pagodas with pavilions. From that time

7. onward, all kings of Rman (Mon) country together with the mass of the people of Mon country have venerated, offered gifts and worshipped. Our lord...

8.... people call it Kyak Kelasapaw. Our lord the relic of Kelasapaw....

9..... namely Talamer (Sr) together with lord Jayasura, His Majesty's son-in-law, pavilions

?

10... octagonal... each side has 16 cubits in length. In future, when his Majesty Ramaraja ...

11. caused to build. Only the big bell had cast

12. Later, in the reign of His Majesty Bana

13. namely Brataja caused to finish building. Later in the reign of

..... DATED

B.E. 2029 = 1486 C.E.

14 . . . Dhammarajadhirajadewi together with her son, namely Ramadhipati Sri Paramamahadhammarajadhirat. . . .

15. caused to be enlarged the Sim (simi, chapter House=Ordination Hall).

The Sim also built in octagonal. Each side is 40 cubits in length. Caused to be built.

. (Based on Blagden's readings and U Chit Thein's text)

Shwezayan Inscription

U Chit Thein, 93

(in compound of Shwezayan pagoda, Thaton) 'eastern approach'

1.

2.

3. All performances which the Buddha ought to perform

4. on the fullmoon day of Basak (May) in the district of Kusinaram, in the Sal forest, at the park of Malla prince, Lord

5. Buddha achieved Nibban. At that time, our lord Mahather Gavampati remembering the instruction that Buddha has instructed him, before the fire of funeral pyre is

6. extinguished, takes one tooth relic which becomes 33 as vowed by the Buddha, and brings to king Sirmasoka. After

7. obtaining the 33 relics, the king built 33 stone stupas and venerated, offered gifts, took precepts and worshipped until he died

8. according to life-span. The king went to heaven after that existence.

Long after that

9. the relics were lost in the forest and people did not know the whereabouts of them. From the

Simi

after line
15 - more
lines - all
effaced - from
my photo

thaton
TEETH
no hair
relic

10. year Lord Buddha achieved Nibban 236 years have elapsed, our lord
Moggaliputtatissa

11 being friendly with King Asokadhammarat for

12 the sake of purifying the religion and for cleaning the thorns of the
religion, held

13. the Third Buddhist Council. In the end of the Council, our Lord
foreseeing that religion would establish in foreign lands

14. persuaded the senior saints to go and establish the religion in such
regions.

15. At that time, our lords Sonather together with Uttarather came to
establish the

16 religion in the country of Suvannabhumi. After establishing the religion
in Suwannabhumi there were monks, nuns, male and female

17. novices. At that time, king Sirimasoka informed the two senior saints :
"My Reverend

18. two saints, since your arrival in our land, we have the Law gem and
Clergy gem

19. to worship to be happy at heart, the Buddha gem we would like to
worship

20. shall our lords search for us?" At that time, the two saints . . . the 33
tooth relics which were brought by our lord Gavampati

21 to King Sirimasoka the Great which were enshrined disappeared in
the forest.

22. King Sirimasoka together with our lords the two senior saints, made a
search for the stupas

Sirimasoka
w/ Sona-
uttara
searched
for relics

23. . . . thirty three relics were brought back to the place at north east
 24. . . . thirty three king
 25. . . . golden caskets. . . . caused to . . .
 26. . . . umbrellas, flags placed in the chambers of 33 . . .
 27. . . . Buddha's relics in
 28. . . . 33 . . . to venerate, to give gifts and to worship.
 29. . . . that 33 places
 30. . . . to venerate, to give gifts and to worship
 31. . . . nobody knows the whereabouts . . .
 - 32 . . . the request of the king also, the reply of the two saints also,
 33. . . . the king caused to enshrine the 33 relics in the pagodas.
 34. . . . that pagoda. . . .
 35. . . . to get . . .
 36. . . . 33
 - 37 . . . that . . .
 38. . . . pagoda . . . our
- illigible lines seem to go to 58 lines.
(based on Blagden and U Chit Thein)

Shwemawdaw Inscription U Chit Thein, 94
(eastern stairway, right side of platform, Pegu)

Shwemawdaw
shouto

1. . . . thirty three
2. . . . exalted Buddha. Later on, in
3. . . . exalted Buddha . . . have gone to
4. . . . informed the exalted Buddha. From the city of Mithila
5. . . . our lord

6. . . . the king supplicated our lord . . .

At that time our lord Gavampati . . .

Gavampati

7. . . . our lord Buddha . . . together with the gathering of monks. . . .

9. twenty

having heard . . . delighted and generous . . . that city . . . the king caused to spread . . . for the Buddha and the monks to sit on that mat and with fragrant flowers . . .

10. For seven days Lord Buddha. . . to king Sirmimasoka with the essence of immortality that is to say the Doctrine, for seven days without interruption . . . At our lord . . .

11 . . . announced. At that time the six hermits . . . came . . . the form of the exalted Buddha having splendour, prosperity, purification and excellence . .

12. . . . delighted and glad at heart, begged for an object of worship from Lord Buddha Becuase of having kindness and love for the hermits, with his right hand Lord Buddha stroke his head and six hair relics . . .

13. . . . Ater the Buddha has given hair relics to the hermits, the king begged ^{tooth} hair relics from Lord Buddha. At that time, Lord Buddha ~~obstructed~~ ^{objected} saying : "Your majresty, is not proper for you to ask for ^{tooth} hair relics now. ^{tooth?}

After 37 years from this year, in the

14. vicinity of the city of Kusinaram, in the Sal forest at the park of the Malla prince, I will achieve Nibban. At that time, the people depending on the Malla king also, the gods who are followers of King Indra also, put my remains on the funeral pyre . . .

15. . . . one tooth relic of mine which became 33, taken from the funeral pyre, . . . brought to . . . then your Majesty got to worship my thirty three relics." So saying Lord Buddha does not give hair relics to

16. . . . in the Mon country also also, in the 13 places Lord Buddha enters phalasma^apatti. After that together with the monks, Lord Buddha went back towards Majjhimadesa. After 37 years

13 places?
vassas?

17. . . . at the place near to the city of Kusinaram, in the Sal forest at the garden of Malla king, lord Buddha achieved Nibban. Before achieving Nibban, as he has vowed--one tooth relic that became 33--Lord Buddha has given the task of bringing to the city of Sudhium . . .

18. . . . our lord the great saint Gavampati took out the one tooth relic which became 33, from the funeral pyre, and brought to king Sirimasoka. After obtaining the 33 relics . . .

19. . . . at the place where Lord Buddha had partook alms-food for seven days when he came . . . the king went out . . . at the site near to well (correct reading for "well" ??) of King Indra . . . built the 33 relic chambers

well

20 built the 33 small stone stupas and worshipped. Thus, king Sirimasoka performed for the enshrining of the 33 relics and made offerings, took precepts for life.

33 small stw

21. . . . thirty three ^{relics} . . . [nobody knows the whereabouts of the] ?
relics because worship not being done

(based on Blagden and U Chit Thein)

U. C. thein. No. 95

PALE KYAIK MAKAW int.

in Pegu township. 1914/1221/no. 44

33 TEETH. perhaps 4 miles from KAWA

"near Shweswari pd."
upper segment is stone parent
vihara shed; lower part
still in situ.
shanto, 63-65?

1. . . . that, because of wishing to preach the Law to the five Vaggiyas, on the fullmoon day of the month Asat (Skt. Asadha-July) *11 Asat.*

2. . . . left Ajapla reached Isipatana forest in Banaras

3. . . . At that time, Lord Buddha preached the Dhammacakka sermon to the five Vaggiyas

4. . . . all became Sotopanna (P. one who has entered the the Nobel Path). On the fifth waning of the month Asat, Lord Buddha preached Anattalakkhana Sutta (P. soul-less characteristic discourse)

N. Katha. 204

"Anatta-lakkhana-sutta"

5. . . . the five Vaggiyas. All the five became saints. After that *preached to group of Five*

6. . . . preaching *61 saints* dwelling with the five of our lords

Samyatta-

7. . . . because of desiring to preach the sermon to the hermits beginning from Uruvelakassapa who are dwelling in Uruvela forest

Nikaya, XXII 59

8. Lord Buddha reached the district of Banaras on the 1st waning of the month Kathuik (Skt. Karttika=November)

*date.
Banaras*

9. In the evening Lord Buddha went to the hermitage of the hermit Uruvela and Lord Buddha begged to reside in the fire place . . .

*Nidana
Katha
207 ff.*

10. At that time, the Naga king saw the Buddha and issued smoke and attacked the Buddha. Lord

*Bignolet.
p. 118.*

11. Buddha using his supernatural power destroyed all the Naga's mighty glory and seized him and coiled him

*Dict. of
Pali terms
p. 63*

11. in the alms bowl. Lord Buddha took out the Naga and showed it to the hermit Uruvelakassapa.

12. At that time Uruvelakassapa said to Lord Buddha, "My lord, from now on you are invited to come

13. everyday to this place for alms." Because of willingness to guide the hermits to know the noble truth, Lord

14. Buddha accepted the invitation. After that night, Lord Buddha went to the bank of Neranjara river near the ghat of Suppatittha (sp.?) and near
15. the Diwawhihara and the north of Tanakkasola and stayed there. At that night the four kings of *Divā vihāra* (noun, "where spent day")

sounds like local Pigeon

16. four quarters illuminated the whole forest and attended Lord Buddha.

In the morning, the hermit

17. asked Lord Buddha and Lord Buddha told them all about the event of the four regents of the four quarters attending him. Knowing that the hermit said to himself : "This

18. great monk has great power and splendour indeed. But he has not attained the sainthood like me yet." In the next night king Indra illuminated

19. the whole forest and attended Lord Buddha. In the morning as asked by the hermit, Lord Buddha

20. explained to him about the attendance of Indra and the hermit thought as before. In the next night

21. Brahma king illuminated the whole forest and attended Lord Buddha. In the morning, by knowing such that the hermit Uruvelakassapa amazed (garbled translation here)

22. Every time he knew that the devas came down as such, the hermit Uruvelakassapa (was) astonished. After that, the hermit Uruvelakassapa thought: "The next day, the people of Magada would come to make a great offering. At that time how to do for the great monk not to be here." As Lord Buddha knew the thought of Uruvelakasappa

24. he went to take alms-food the next morning in the Uttarakura (country of northern Kuru in n. Indian) and partook the food in the bank of the lake Anotatta (the big lake in the Himalayas from which several rivers flow) and returned to usual place. The next morning

cf. Pali dict.
96 -

25. the hermit Uruvelakassapa asked : "Why our lord did not come to our place?" "As I know your thought that you did not like me to come, I went to get alms-food in Uttarakuru and did not come." When

Stone slab.
m. 125 ft.

26. hearing the Lord Buddha's words, the hermit was amazed. One day, lord Buddha went at night to take the robe Pamsuku (P. pamsukula=rags from a dust heap) which was wrapped on the corpse of

27. the slave woman Punna, being the slave of Sujata. A strong earthquake occurred. In the morning the hermit asked again. After knowing the event, the

28. hermit Uruvelakassapa was amazed. After obtaining the robe, the Buddha thought of washing it and at that moment King Indra created a

29. pond by scratching the earth with his hand. When the hermit knew that king Indra has created a pond

30. for the Buddha, he was astonished. After that Lord Buddha thought of rubbing the robe and king Indra knew it and created a stone slab for

31. Lord Buddha to rub the robe. When the hermit knew that king Indra has created a stone

32. slab he admired. After rubbing the robe Lord Buddha thought of coming up from the pond and felt to pull a support. Then the spirit of the Klon tree (P. ^orayatana) knew it and lowered down a branch for Lord

rayayatana
tree

33. Buddha to pull in coming up the pond. By seeing that Uruvelakassapa admired. After that the Buddha thought : "Where shall I dry

34. the robe?" King Indra knew the Buddha's thought and created a big stone slab and the Buddha dried

Stone slab

35. the robe. The hermit Uruvelakassapa was astonished by knowing that king Indra has created the big stone slab for the Buddha to

36. dry the robe. One day, at the time close to partake the alms-food, the hermit himself went to invite Lord Buddha. "You go first. I will

37 come later," said the Buddha. By his supernatural power, Lord Buddha went to take the big Eugenia fruit, because of which this continent got the name Jambudip (the continent lying south of Mt. Meru), and before the hermit's

38. arrival, the Buddha arrived earlier at the hermit's hermitage. "From what way my lord comes and arrives earlier than me?," asked the hermit. "I went to take the big Eugenia fruit at Himalaya and now I have come."

Thus lord

39. Buddha said and showed the Eugenia fruit. By seeing it the hermit admired (it). After that the hermit informed the Buddha to come for alms-

40. food at his hermitage again. "You go first. I will come later." Lord Buddha said and went to get the mango fruit near the big Eugenia fruit and quickly came to the hermitage. The hermit said : " My lord arrived earlier than me indeed!"

41. I went to get the mango fruit which is near the Eugenia fruit and now I have come." Said Buddha and

42. showed up the mango fruit. At that time the hermit was amazed. Later one, life before, Lord Buddh sent back the hermit and went to get emblic myrobalan

43. fruit lying near the Eugenia fruit and came back earlier than the hermit and showed him the fruit. The hermit was astonished. Later on, lord Buddha

44. sent back the hermit and went to get chubulic myrobalan fruit lying near the big Eugenia fruit and came back before the hermit and showed him the fruit. The hermit was amazed. Later,
45. the Buddha sent back the hermit and with his supernatural power, went up to the Tavatimsa heaven and took the Erythrina Indica fruit and came down and showed it to the hermit. The hermit was amazed. Later on, the 500 hermits
46. came to offer fire. They began to break 500 fire wood pieces. Lord Buddha vowed that let not the firewood break. As
47. they could not break the firewood, they begged Lord Buddha and Lord Buddha made a vow and they could break all 500 pieces of firewood. The 500 hermits were amazed.
48. Lord Buddha made a vow for not let them make fire (literal) and they could not make fire. So they begged the Buddha and the
49. Buddha made a vow to enable them to make fire

500 hermits
firewood

Erythrina variegata = Indian Coral tree

50. Then the 500 firewood pieces began to burn. All the 500 hermits were astonished. After that Lord Buddha made a vow. "May

51. they cannot extinguish the fire!" So they were unable to put out the fire and they begged Lord for permission. Lord Buddha made a vow to enable them to

52. extinguish the fire and they could put out the fire. So they admired Lord Buddha.

53. One night in the cold and dry season, the 500 hermits went down to Neranjara river

54. to bathe. When they came up to enable them to warm up, Lord Buddha created 500 firebrands on the bank of Neranjara

55. river. When the 500 hermits came up from the river, they got the chance of warming up the such firebrands. At

56. that time, the 500 hermits said, "This great monk

57. So saying they were amazed. From there, lord Buddha went to the place at north of the ghat of

58. Suppatittha and walked to and from from east to west and from west to east at the bank of the Neranjara

59. river. At that time, heavy rain came and then banks of the river flooded. Lord

60. Buddha made a vow. "May this earth on which I am walking to and fro be not wet and

61. let it have dust and let the water surround it and let it be like a chamber of passagel!" At that time, the hermit Uruvelakassapa saw the

ghi

62. flood and thought that the great monk must be floating so he took a boat and came to rescue.

63. When the hermit came and saw that the Lord Buddha was walking to and from on the dust surrounded by water, he was amazed. From the time,

64. Lord Buddha has put the Naga in the alms-bowl until Lord Buddha was walking to and from from the passage with dust, Patihariya

65. together with three thousand and five hundred. Another group of Patihariya

66. of sixteen. Lord Buddha has shown his supernatural power and the hermit admired . But the hermit considred that this great monk has not attained arahantship

67 (saint) like him yet. At that time Lord Buddha said to the hermit Uruvelakassapa, " Hey hermit, you said you are a saint. But you have not become a saint. You do not even know the law of Patipatti (conduct , practice) necessary to come a saint." Then the hermit got sayvega

68 (P. anxiety, repentance, religious emotion) and said, "Yes. I have not become a saint and I do not really know a certain law of Patipatti which is necessary to become a saint." After saying thus the hermit Uruvelakassapa together with five hundred hermits then became monks at the foot of Lord Buddha. The hermit Nadikassapa seing the 500 hermits have become monks, he and togehter with 300 hermits

70. became monks. The hermit Gayakassapa togeteher with 200 hermits also became monks. Lord Buddha uttered, " Etha Bhikkhu!" and all one thousand of them were ordained as monks.

(P. etha= here, upasampadeti, to ordain. Lord Buddha has also used the phrase "Ehi Bhikkhu" in ordaining his disciples. It is the oldest formula of admission to the order, meaning "come o, monks.")

Based on U Chit Thein's text.

1-4 illigible

5. Wednesday

6. from there ...

7. from there ...

8. banyan tree (Ajapala)

9. in the island

10. to the youth

11. to the prince

12. given

13. lord. ...

14. banyan

15. ... His Majesty, lord of elephant ...

16. ... many ... His Majesty, lord of elephant ..

17. ... in the year 841 (1479 A.D.) the 5th waning of Asat (Jul) on Thursday ||
at the rising constellation in Pisces.

18. our lord the clergy ...

19. from there ...

20. two yojana (P. yojana = 7 miles)

21. north of ...

22. that anger ... wind ...

23. arrived

24. twenty ... from Murathi

Murathi?

25. ... Rajagraha Rajagraha ... from the bank of Neranjara

26. reached Kantari ... from there ...

Kantari?

27. one ... our lords

*upper garment? int.
found due east of
Shwesugyi. erected in
some ins. shed where it was
found. 1933/40.*

*SLAB NO. 2 in
Shwesugyi ins. shed
(from N. to South)
from Bauer*

28.... between river

29..... stone

30... a pagoda called ...

31.... water of that river ...

32.... Lord Buddha big

33.... towards ... pagoda

not 3rd. wk.

Shontu, 62
LIT/25; ~~at~~ R.
in stone pavement
monument shed.

Bhumicankamanapaya Inscription 841 / 1479 A.D. U Chit Thein, 73

1. One day our lord the exalted Budha goes out from his dwelling place and walks down towards north of the the ghat of Supatitha and walks to and from from east to west and from west to east.

2. Lord Buddha walks to and from at the bank of Neranjara river. At that time a heavy rain came and the bank of the river Neranjara submerged under

3. water. At that time, Lord Buddha makes a vow : "Let the earth on which I am walking be not wet and let the dust appear. Let the water flow outside my walking chamber all around!"

4. At that time the hermit Uruwerakassapa thinks that the great Samana is floating on water and takes a boat and comes out

5. on rescue. After searching they are so astonished to see that Lord Buddha

6. is walking on the dust which is like a chamber surrounded by water.

7. At the place which Lord Buddha walks to and from, former kings who were pious and delighted in religion, built two stupas each at two ends of the walking passage.

8. The stupa at the eastern ends has fallen down due to the sliding of the river bank. Only one stupa at the western end has remained. In our country of Ramannadesa, by imitating the stupa at the end of the walking passage, according to the plan and its position from Mahabodhi, His Majesty, lord of White Elephant, cause . . .

Yasura governor of Drala town in the year 841 of common era (1479 A.D.) the 5th waxing of the month Asat (Skt. Ashada= July) on Thursday, at the rising of the constellation Pisces, to build this Bhumicankamana pagoda.

DRALA =
DALA ?

Based on U Chit Thein's text ; compare with Blagden's Shwegugyi Pagoda Inscription, E.B. IV, Pt. 1, pp. 17-19.

Upakasamagama Pagoda Inscription 841 / 1479

U Chit Thein, 76

'Abivirka'

1921/28.

1915 p. 15

(It is to the north of Shwegugyi)

1. The lord of merit, our Lord Buddha while sitting under the Ajapala banyan tree, feels not to preach the doctrine to any being in the three worlds.
2. At that time, the Mahabrahma knows the feeling of Lord Buddha comes down
3. and pays respects to Buddha and because of wishing the Buddha to preach
4. the law to beings, asks a boon to Lord Buddha. Lord Buddha granted
5. the boon to Mahabrahma and for the sake of preaching his doctrine to the five waggiyas (sic) (hermits) who are in the
6. deer forest known as Isipatanamiga (sp. Is miga for skt. mrga?) in the district of Banaras, Lord Buddha leaves the Ajapala tree on the fullmoon // day of the month Asat.

7. When Lord Buddha reached the place between Mahabodhi and Mt. Gayasisa, Ajiwaka approached and
8. asked a question. After hearing the answer replied by Lord Buddha, Ajiwaka was pleased and delighted
9. at Lord Buddha. From Ajiwaka went to Wanga village. In the place between
10. Mahabodhi and Mt. Gayasisa, the former pious kings who have faith in religion starting from king Asoka--
11. dhammarat built a pagoda known as Upakasamagama and worshipped .
12. In our land of Ramannadesa, also, imitating that place, according to the model of that Upakasamagama
13. pagoda between Mahabodhi and Mt. Gayasisa His Majesty, Lord of elephant, ordered the governor of Mruin namely
14. Aai Gam Bin to build Upakasamagama also called Jibbala--according to the model of that Upakasmagama pagoda situated between Mahabodhi and
15. Mt. Gayasisa--about three gawuta (league, little less than 2 miles) distant. This Upakasamagama pagoda was built according to the model of that Upakasamagama pagoda situated between Mahabodhi
16. and Mt. Gayasisa. In this our land regarding it as the original paogoda, this Upakasamagama pagoda was built in the year 841 (1479 A.D.), the 5th waxing of Asat on
17. Thursday at the rising planet of Pisces.

(Based on U Chit Thein only)

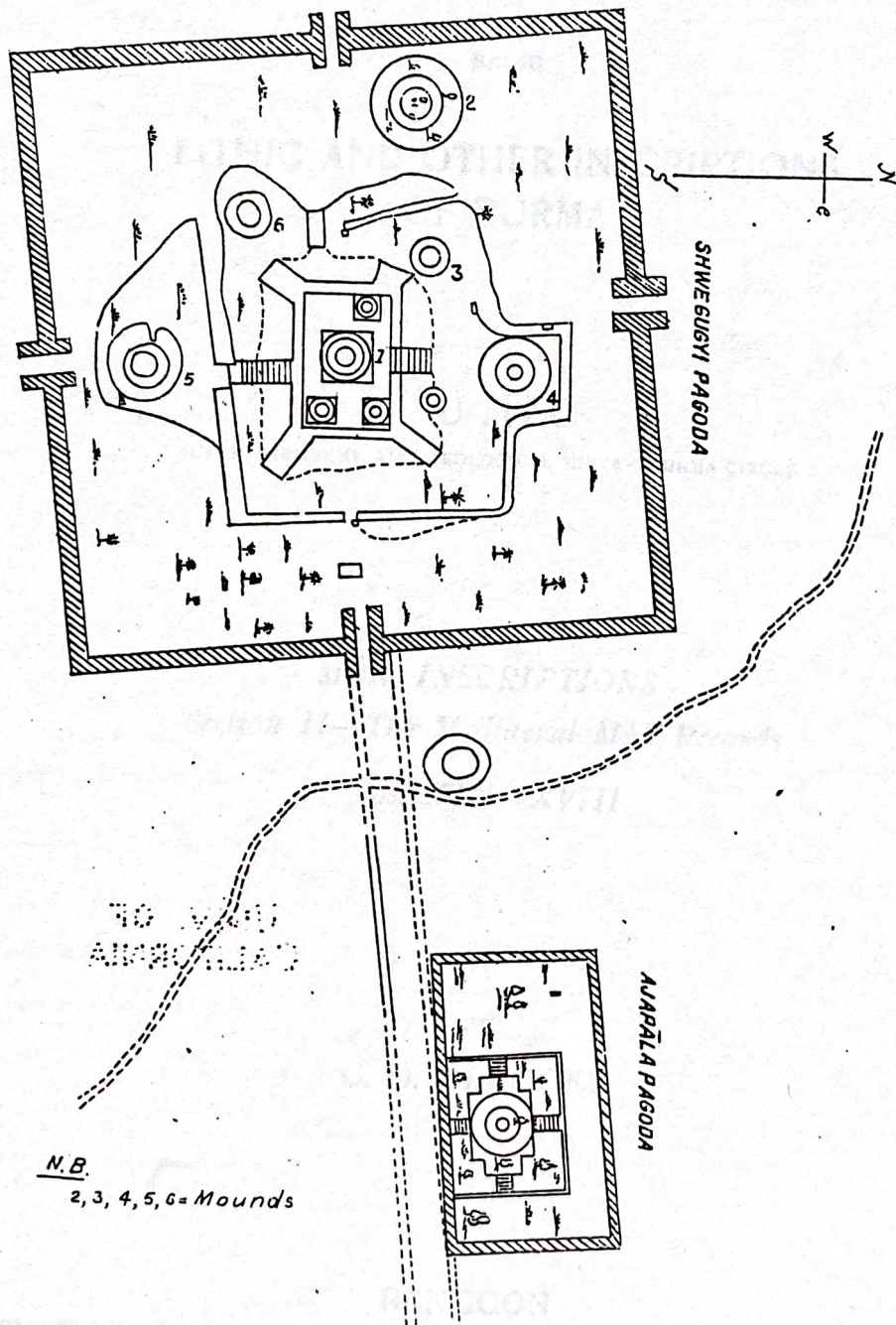
NIDANA KETHA
p. 109.
meets upaka on
some day as reaching
Deen Park
no Ajiwaka in
Gayasisa
Gayasisa. N. K. p. 111

upaka, an ascetic

PLAN
OF
SHWEGUGYI AND AJAPĀLA
PAGODAS
Scale = 100 feet = 1 inch

Plate I

A.S.B.
1914



N.B.

2, 3, 4, 5, 6 = Mounds

right hand corner
first words on the
mā . . . "the
head of . . .
heads of cats,
ma (rap) thā.
of Māra with r
but contains the
of Māra with
demon and so
Burmese mind
common among
colloquially, a
appearance un
reaching almo
not in Haswell
think, pure T
Malay *kris*;
the Talaing
and I can not
known that the
it may be that
a knife or dag
However the
Talaing word
itself leave no
is foreign to I
Doubles
along the wa
vegetation.
in some muse

37. The

Excavations at
Pagoda, Pegu.

Ajapala tree.
completely cut
It is at this S
was subjected
retrieve their
numerous pl
dressed and
in private co
while examin
the latter dug

* For relation
pages 1247, 1248
refer to a war with
Malays, though I
at least lingering
erected at Sukho
103. This date,
who ascended it

* Sanskrit -

* C/. Talaing

* A drawing
original brick cut
be seen at page
the Phayre Mus.

* The four
have been found
1912, p. 695.

28

No. 10. c.

BEING

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SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA CIRCLE

Section II—The Mediaeval Môn Records

BY

RANGOON

1934

Thence, Arctic,
to the Kalamazoo

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ICALYANI: CAUSA patk.
Lib. no. 7052. 1128 B.E. (1766)
(only PALI section).

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA

MÔN INSCRIPTIONS.

No. XIII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE AJAPĀLA PAGODA, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

84*. This record is engraved on two faces (presumably of the same stone), the parts occupied by the lettering here transcribed being on Face A 4 ft. in height by 3 ft. 9 in. in breadth and on Face B 3 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. The letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, letter *t* is about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, and the interlinear space is about 1 in. Though a good deal weathered, as are many of the other stone inscriptions of Lower Burma, this one is still for the most part legible. Location

85. Like the two following inscriptions, it is connected with a sacred building erected in commemoration of episodes in the life of Buddha shortly before or after his attainment of supreme enlightenment.

In this case the events are those which occurred under an Indian fig-tree (or banyan, *Ficus Indica*) known as the Ajapāla, or goatherds' fig-tree, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bodhi tree under which the supreme enlightenment was attained. Before going to sit under the Bodhi tree, the Bodhisattva rested under the Ajapāla fig-tree, where he received from the maiden Sujātā an offering of rice cooked in milk (A 1—22). The next seven weeks, beginning with the one during which he became a Buddha under the Bodhi tree, are especially celebrated. After his attainment of Buddhahood he spent another week gazing steadfastly at the Bodhi tree and satisfied the devas of his Buddhahood by performing a miracle; during the third week he walked up and down a "cloistered walk" which they prepared for him. These incidents are commemorated in the next record, No. XIV. The fourth week was spent in a "house of

* Numbering of the paragraphs in this part is continued from Part II of Volume III.

gems", also prepared by the devas and mentioned on Face A of the present record, l. 24, from which he then returned to the Ajapāla fig-tree to spend the fifth week (A 23-4). During this week he was visited by a Brahman, to whose question as to what really constituted a Brahman he replied by laying stress on ethical qualifications, not on caste and birth (A 25-6). Another event in this week was the recognition by the evil spirit Māra of his failure in his conflict with Buddha and the fruitless efforts of Māra's three daughters, the personifications of the passions, to tempt the enlightened one (A 26-35). The sixth week was spent under a Mucalinda tree (*Barringtonia acutangula*), where a Nāga king, also named Mucalinda, sheltered him from the rain with his hood; and the seventh under a Rājāyatana tree (believed to be *Buchanania latifolia*) where he was visited by two travelling merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, to whom he gave eight hairs from his head, which according to the traditions of Burma are now enshrined in the Shwedagon Pagoda at Rangoon. This episode, as well as much of the preceding, is related on Face A of No. XV, but unfortunately that part of the record is in a very damaged condition. After these seven celebrated weeks, Buddha returned again to the Ajapāla fig-tree and there reflected as to whether he should preach the Law, and, if so, to whom. This is related in our present record, and when he had decided the matter in his mind he left the Ajapāla fig-tree to go to the region of Benares (B 1—21).

86. The last four lines of our record tell of the building of the Ajapāla pagoda at Pegu in imitation of the one that had been erected long before on the site of the Ajapāla fig-tree. It is unfortunate that a good deal is missing in the text here. In the last line there is a date, but the year number is not quite certain. If the text as here printed represents the true reading of the year, the date fell into the summer of 1480 A.D. As however both the year and the week-day are in doubt, it is not possible to check it.

87. For the episodes in the life of Buddha that have been briefly noted in § 85, reference can be made to various translations from Buddhist works, among which the following have been consulted:—

T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Vol. I, London, 1880 (especially the revised edition by Mrs. Rhys Davids, London, n. d.); and on the Nidānakathā.

The Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, Oxford, 1881.

E. H. Brewster, The Life of Gotama the Buddha, London, 1926.

The Saṃyutta Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka, Book IV, Mārasaṃyuttaṃ, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids in The Book of Kindred Sayings, London, 1917 (Part I, Sāgatha-Vagga, p. 153-9).

P. Bigandet, The Life or Legend of Gaudama, Vol. I, 3rd ed., London, 1880.

In my notes I have given mainly references from the last named work as it is particularly connected with Burma.

88. It should perhaps be mentioned here that at the Upakasamāga (or Bhikkhunīma) pagoda, Pegu, there is a fragmentary inscription of which lines 1 to 7 contain a much abridged version corresponding roughly to parts of lines 2, 3, 6—10, 20 and 21 of Face B of our record. A comparison of the two has been of some assistance in the reading of doubtful words in both.

Text.¹

A

1. II II Bodhisa[t pui]y lu[kau t]u[rau cnā]m pa dukka[rāc]ariy[ā] pda[y Uruweḷa tuy] II [het ma cwin br]apui[n² m]a(j)jhimapaṭipat³ ma daḥ raḥ gah II dhar
2. pa[n̄]a [sat]i [samādh]i ga[h j]no[k mar a tuy] II [pḍay] prayāma [batam] (14)⁴ [bra]mā[k kitu]⁵ ba[sāk gah go] nā[t s]wap [l]apo' ja[m]nok

¹ Above the continuous text and separated from it by an empty space of two to three inches, there is a replica of ll. 1 and 2 of the text as far as the word *swap* (which in the replica is near the beginning of its third line). It has the variant reading *dukkaracariyat* (l. 1) and probably *katu* (l. 2). Much of it is illegible.

² Cf. I A 52, XII D 39, J 17, 18. In the last two places the reading should be *baṭṭin*.

³ The complex letter occurring here probably represents only *jh*, not *jjh*.

⁴ There is no room for the words, so it is assumed that the "fourteen" is expressed in numeral figures. As to the date, see the note on the text.

⁵ Possibly *katu*.

3. masun prakā [tuy II tr]adah [ma sgo' dah kyāk] (cmat)¹ [ga]h
ph[yuih lar cuit ra II pday tñay] sī [brapēn] (gah) [yah lañū]
ga[h kl]on lbuit k[u] j[r]aku
4. [t]uy II prā[p ā] ja[reñ jrāy s]um² Aja[p]āla [tuy II] (tuy)
. . . . (weñ) . . . ³ [piṇḍapāt g]ah II (tuy II) [gata ket
bwai . . n]⁴ duih bramā[k dand]āy
5. [ke]t tnañ [j]ray tu[y] II [B]odhisa[t dmā]ñ [t]au ra [II pday
prayām gah II Sujātā t]u[y ma] c(u)i[n dah tau kwon] (samñeh)⁵
[Senāñi gah] khā [ma dah] samat lwuit [te]-
6. [' gah] II [ā pday t]nañ [jray sum] Ajapā[la tuy II khā ey dīk
ma go' gayon tuy ma] no[m jāti] [II pday paṭisan-
dhi ey] ku[i]p [t]lā ga[h] II kwon [tr]uh
7. mwa[y II ey go' mā II braman ḍāk] ta[h heñ ey sbali] (tla) [ey
ñi gaḥ tuy II pa lar paṭṭhanā] (tuy) [II atuiñ paṭṭhanā
ḍeh ma pa gah] ḍok peñ uiw [t]uy II he-
8. [t] ma [sbal]i dewa[t]au [jray sum Ajapāla gah II] bra[m]an
[ḍāk tah gah ḍeh tw]ām phyu[i]n lar [ra II dīk brau Punṇā
tuy ma] cu[in dah t]au [mbo]' ta[h ḍeh gah] II [ḍe[h] ca[kā
tu]-
9. y [k]u[iw tit ā] ñaḥ [t]aḥ da[māñ ma sbali dewa]tau [ra II khā
gah Punṇā tit ā tuy II] ñ[āt ket Bodhisat ma gata ket bwōy
duih⁶ bramāk] ma dan[ḍ]ā[y dmāñ tnañ jra]-
10. [y] s[u]m II nū [jraku lyah ma dre]p t[it ā gah] II [uit kuw
janok] tnañ [chu ma] da[h s]ā[k thar uit gah ḍeh ñāt ket tuy
II na jraku heñ dewatau ma sdu]ñ [bali]

¹ Fairly probable reading.

² Or *sūm*.

³ The preceding looks like *sgawēñ wñ* (or *wñw*). If the first word is meant for *sgawēñ* it would mean
"to wander", i.e., collecting alms.

⁴ Looks like *ban* or *pan*.

⁵ The reading is nearly certain.

⁶ Looks like *duiy*.

11. [bakar p]ui[y rw]o[n sdaḥ II .deh k]ṣap [tuy deh] cau [ā II
atuin¹ tr]ada[h] de[h ma nāt gah deh huim ku Sujāta ra] II
kh[ā gah] Sujā[ta sḍik mḥ(u)ik mi]p cui[t pū]-
12. ma[h san t]u[y II th]aḥ th[or ma nwom] 'bnat [ñuh mwoy lak
kasāp gah II cut brapēn braman² uit suim tuy II na thaḥ]
th[or m]wa[y] (rā) [c-ān grop braman² gah t]uy na
13. [yā]t ma g[wu c-]aḥ gah [gwī tuy II na kriyā thar uit suim gah
gñi gñāt ket t]u[y II thaḥ thor suim braman gah II kḍip gah
yuiw ke]t [t]u[y II na a]n[u]bho[w ma j]n[o]-
14. [k] tlaḥ ga[h] II [k]w[om k]u [ḍik brau Puṇṇā gah tit ā ra II
khā gah nū jamṇay heṇ na ly]aḥ [jrak]ū Bodhisat ma krajo'
[dmān tau gah II] u[it k]u[i]³ jan[ok tnam chu ma dah sā]-
15. [k] thor gah [deh' n]ā[t ket t]u[y II samtīm dewatau jray sum
heṇ lar] c[uit tuy II suim kuiw ma kuiw braman⁴ heṇ jo' jo']
[ā t]u[y II [thaḥ] tho[r ma cut]
16. p[r]aman gah phy[uih n]u latū [kḍip tu]y [II yāt kambu ma gwī]
p[raman gah sah kle' tuy II thaḥ thor ma grop gah pok k]l[e'
tuy II na paḍ]āk [thor] [r]
17. la[r] na ḍāk mramar gah deh] ra[p ket t]uy II [prāp] ā [jareṇ
Bodhisat tuy deh dmān tau II pḍay kāla gah II prabeṇ
Ghaṭikāra Mahābruim ma kuiw] (d).
18. (n) . [n⁵ ā] ra II B[odhisat] (ha) [nāt] pra[beṇ gah t]uy II [tay
stum gah r]a(laḥ) [tuy d]uṇ [k]e[t ḍ]ā[k ra II khā gah Su]j[āta
prāp ā tuy II thaḥ thor tuy] (ma pe)-
19. (ñ t)au nā prama[n] ḍ[āk tah g]ah II draḍu[t c]u[t] la[tū gata
tay Bo]risat⁶ ra II [kh]ā ga[h rau wo' deh] (gaḥ II yo') [tila]
ey dewa[tau paṭṭhanā tuy ma ey rāda]-

¹ Looks like *atuw*.² Perhaps *praman*.³ For *kuiw*.⁴ Perhaps *praman*.⁵ Possibly *danan* or *dandan*. Cf. VIII A 3.⁶ For *Bodhisat*.

20. [nā mik tam] j[on̄ tila ey gah II ɔk pen̄ ku ey tuy] ra [II] rau
pa[t̄t̄han]a cui[t] ey d̄i[k ma] d̄[ok pen̄] (gah) [heñ II pat̄t̄han]a
cui[t tila ey ler kuiw ɔk]
21. [pen̄ ñi gah tuy II thaḥ th̄r t]uy [ma nwom ñ]uh [mway lak]
ka[s]a[p gah] . . [k ku br] . . (y) [t]u[y II Sujāta twāk c]au [a
ra II khā gah Bodhisat twāk cui]-
22. [h a] p̄day [cran̄ kru]ñ Nerañjarā tu[y II p̄day cni]h Su[patit̄tha
gah pa pa]r[ibho]k [praman gah ra] II II p̄da[y] than̄ ja[r]e[ñ
bodhi gah II lukau ḃa coh d]ac[ām t̄na]-
23. [y pan sattāha gah II k]yā[k] t[r]ay dm[ā]ñ [t]u[y heñ II p̄day
t̄nay] ca[h] pi [bramāk k]i[t]u [jih] gah [II y]aḥ [l]aṇ[ū h]e[ñ
ky]ā[k tray daloh' ktuiw ā] II
24. [nū ratan]aghara [tuy II ā dmāñ tau] (a)sma[r tnam̄ [jray
s]um[m] Aja[pāla tuy] lu[k]au da[pah t̄nay] ga[h II bic]ā[ran]a
ket [dhar c]as[uiñ ket] dra[sok phalasamāpat]
25. [tuy] k[yāk tr]ay d[mañ]² tau [II] II [p̄day kāla gah] ba[mnah
m]wa[y ma himu] (Huñhukajāti³ gah) [prāp] tluñ [smā]n
sram[ān ku ky]āk [tr]ay [t]u[y II kyāk tray le]-
26. [r sah kui]w [sramā]n [ku deh ra] II [II] p̄d̄ai [k]ā[l]a k[yāk
tray ma dmāñ p̄d̄ai phār Ajapā]ā[la] ga[h kuim] II s[miñ Ma]
pr[āp ā t]l[uñ-jareñ⁴ ky]āk [tray t]u[y] (II)⁵ tuy ma
ui]-
27. [t] cu[it ma phy]u[i]h sa[nniṭhān] tradah k[yāk tray mā] d̄aḥ
ky[āk cmat II tradah p]u[gg]u[i]w [ma c-aḥ cmat gah deh]
h[uim tuy II deh] b[uiw ā nor jray Ajapāla II bwoy duih]

¹ For *dalok*?² For *dmāñ*.³ For *Huñhukajāti*.⁴ For *kyāk*.⁵ The *ñ* of *luñ* appears to be superscript over the *j* of *jareñ*.⁶ The missing word looks something like *lahuim*, "speech", but it seems difficult to fit this sense into the passage.

28. b[ramāk] (gah) [twāk a tuy II pday dor t]arau [jnok deh kajo'¹
tuy II carit cah tar]au ga[h] de[h] cari[t ket tuy deh dawin]
(den) [dmam² tau II kh]a [gah]
29. [tradok cuit deh that lwon san tuy II tan tuy ma deh] . . . [d]
. . . [lor] p[d]ai kana(t)³ [de]h [k]u[im ler l]a(luy) [c(u)it
kuim] (deh) [ha tim ra II khā]
30. [Mā ma laluy cuit gah II smin] I[n go]' [lapah ket tuy II smin
In (h)uim ku Pañcasi]kha [inah gah II khā gah kw(ā)n br]au
Mā [pi tuy ma himu] (II) [Taṇhā II A]ra[ti]
31. [II Rāgā II gah nāt ket s]m[in mba deh tuy ma den] d[m]ā[n
tau gah II cuih tluñ]⁴ [ku m]ba d[e]h [t]u[y
II prāp] a [jaren kyāk tray] . . . (ra) [II] rup
32. [brau samat lwut p]i [klañ mwai wā] II [r]up brau lwut ma ha
go]' [kwān pi klañ mwoy wā II rup brau ma go' kwā]n mwa[y
pi klañ m]w[oy w]ā [II rup] b[rau ma go' kwān ɓa pi klañ
mwō]y
33. [wā II rup brau ma dah taḍay nāḥ pi klañ mwoy wā II rup
brau ma jnok nī pi klañ mw]oy [wā II rau wo' turau he]n
[b]rau pi pi [klañ deh to'] (nimit bdah)⁵ [tuy II deh]
34. [to' prāp a jare(n-)kyāk⁶ tray] (tuy deh to')⁷ hui[m juim] (tau)
[ku kyāk tray deh to' ha go' akhwoñ deh to' tuy] (deh to')
[kaleñ cau]
35. [jaren mba deh to' ra II II]

¹ Between *kajo'* and *tuy* there is either an original flaw in the stone or some small word (such as *ha*) has been effaced.

² For *dmāñ*.

³ Conceivably *kanak*.

⁴ There are two words here that have not been identified. Each seems to begin and end with *or* *l*.

⁵ These two words seem almost certain readings, though the second one might be *bat*.

⁶ It is very doubtful whether there is any superscript *n* here at all.

⁷ Conjectural restoration.

B

1. [II II] kh[ā] ti[l]a p[uiy kyāk tray] [chu
Rajāyatana dapah thāy t]u[y gah II tit tluñ no(r-)Rajāyatana
tuy kalēñ]
2. p[l]an [ā] pḍa[y thān jray su(m)m Ajapāla II] (casuñ ket)¹ [phala-
samāpati kyāk tray dmāñ² tau ra II pḍay kāla tuy ma dmāñ
pḍay thān gah]
3. [g]asa[p cuit] mwam³ ma cāñ that ktuiw dah ku kyāk tray ra II
dh[ar tuy ma ey kuli go' grañ ke]t⁴ (wo')⁴ [gah II sjoh ler sjoh
san II II]
4. s[j(u)ñ na ñah s]ñā[t san] II s[j]ui[n na ñah s]gra[n ket san II]
(ñiy tḍim)⁵ [san II at]u[i]ñ dhar ma [ey go' grañ ket] (wo')⁴ [ey
ma twah ku ñah c-āñ] II [ñah ha grañ] t[i]-
5. [m] ra sdah [m]ā II [lam-]oñ la[m]-a[t] j[r]a[k]u [ey heñ ma sdah
uiw so'] II atu[i]ñ [dh]ar ma [ey go'] gra[n ket wo' gah] II [ey
(h)ēñ]⁶ spa ke[w srajuñ t]aḍui-
6. [ñ II s-a]y [puray spujau sakā t]uy II [sdmāñ ket ra II ku ñah
c-ā]ñ [ta ey ha mik tw]ah ra gah tuy II [c]u[it mw]ay [m]way
t[uy] ma spa (an' kabut) [pḍay ma stwah] dhar [ku]
7. ña[h gah] k[tu]iw [dah] ku kyāk tra[y ra II kh]ā ga[sah]
[Sahampati Mahā]brui[m tim ke]t [gasap] cui[t kyāk tram' t]uy
II grakwom bruim grakwom dewa[t]au ma

¹ The reading is not quite certain, but cf. A 24.

² Between *dmā* and *ñ* there is an original flaw which also separates *e* from *k* *t* in the next line.

³ For *meay*.

⁴ In ll. 3, 4, it is possible to read *te'* instead of *wo'* but in l. 5 the reading *wo'* is certain.

⁵ Though the letters seem fairly clear the actual reading is doubtful because the words have not been definitely identified.

⁶ The word *heñ* might perhaps be read *then*.

⁷ It might be possible to read *ara*.

⁸ Presumably for *gah*, and translated accordingly.

⁹ Presumably for *tray*.

8. [t]au tau p[ɗay cah lɲim] cak[k]awa [gah trawɪ] ba[wuɪn ket tuy II pā]p¹ a ja[reɲ kyāk] tray ra [II] khā ga[h k]bān mway duih pan[ɗah ti] yok ket samim² ta-
9. [y] li[nɔ]r [kyāk] tram¹ tu[y³ II het tuy ma] (sgo')³ [kuiw twah dhaw ku sat gamlui]n ga[h II] āt⁴ wuiw ku k[y]āk tray ra II [ky]āk tra[y t]un ler
10. [k]uiw wui[w ku S]ahampa[ti Mahābruim tuy heɲ II]
 . . [tɲa]y ga[h II pɗay thān tr]awɪ w[ū] Ma[hā]bodh[i g]ah guim⁵ II kyāk tray gaŋge[n p]i[n]ɗa[p]ā[t]
11. tuy II d[mān t]au pɗa[y th]ā[n gah] ra II [pɗay payām sagā] (tɲay) [cah pan bram]āk [kitu a(sā)t gah II gasap rau wok]⁶ k[t]uiw dah ku [k]yāk tray ra II isi Ā[ɪ]āra
12. [K]ālā[ma] gah II [ma salah ta]bāh [k]u[iw dhaw] (lo)
 [samāpat⁷ dapāh] (ku ey dah)⁸ u[iw] da ci II [upak]ā jnok [ku ey san II ku i]si Ā[ɪ]āra Kālā-
13. [ma] heɲ [ey ma g]ap gw[or stwah dh]ar [twā⁹ ra rau gah] (kṣap tuy) [II khā gah] (tradah isi)¹⁰ [Ā]āra¹¹ p[ɗay dapah tɲay ma lwon t]u[y ma khy(u)it ā II] ma ā
14. k[t]uiw dah] p[ɗay aki]cca[nāyatan]abhu[m¹² gah tim] (ket) [tuy II isi] Ā[ɪ]āra (Kālāma) [ha mway ra ci II isi] U[d]akā kwon [Rām] tu[n ler II het tuy ma]

¹ For *prāp*.² For *samip*.³ This seems the most likely reading. At first I was inclined to read *p-or ma*.⁴ There is no *virāma* visible on the *t*.⁵ For *kuiw*.⁶ For *wo*.⁷ This looks like *lokiyasamāpat*, which seems improbable as *lokkutarasamāpat* would be more suitable.⁸ Restored, but supported to some extent by traces of letters.⁹ I take this to be an error for *lla*.¹⁰ Almost certain.¹¹ Possibly *wo*.¹² For *ākiñcaññā*^o, in Pali spelling.

15. [ḍeh salah taḇaḥ kuiw dhar] newa[sañānāsañāyatanasamāpat dah ui¹
da ci II] (jnok tau) [upakā] ku [ey]² [ku isi Udaka heñ
ey ma ga]-
16. [p gwor stwah dhar tlā³ rā gaḥ tuy II gasap cuit kyāk tray ktuiw
dah tun II] (khā gaḥ) [tradah isi] Udaka ma khyuit [traḍay]
ba[tam gaḥ ma ā ktuiw] (dah)
17. [pḍay newasañānāsañāyatana]bhum [gaḥ] (tim) [ket tuy II isi]
(Udaka ha) [mway ra ci II tipuin paccawar⁴ to'] ma klo[n
b]ui[t] . . . [ku ey] (khā)
18. [ma pa dukkaracāriyāt gaḥ l]er II [u]pakā jnok ku ey sa[n da[h]
ui[w da ci II ku tipuin paccaw]ar [to' heñ] ey ma [gap gw]or
s[twah dhar tlā⁵ rwo]-
19. [ñ] [' ci II] tipui[n paccawor] (to'
tau)⁶ [pḍay thān tuy ḍeh] to' [ma] dmāg⁸ ro [g]aḥ tu[y II kyāk
tray kṣap bicāraṇā] (mwa)-
20. (y tuy)⁹ [II tradah tila puin paccawor to'] (ma pa datau)¹⁰ [pḍay
ḍuñ Bārāṇasī pḍ]ay gr[ip Isipa[t]ana ga[h tim ket] tuy [II ey
s-ā] (ḍuñ Bārā)-
21. (ṇasī ñi) [g]aḥ [tuy] II [pḍ]ay [tñay sī] brape[ñ kitu asāt gaḥ heñ
II kyāk tray tit] ā [nor] (smār¹¹ tnañ) [jray su(rñ)m] Aja[p]ā[la ra
II] (II)
22. [jray sum A]japā[la tuy] ma cui[n dah tau] (thān) [paribhok kyāk
tray gaḥ smin ma nwom ku puin tamlā] (ma sjuñ) [sḍuik pḍay
sāsanā] (ma pa) [tam ku]

¹ For *uiw*.

² Looks like *kui* and is perhaps for *kui*.

³ Or *kla*.

⁴ For *pañcawar* (Sanskrit *pañcavargya*). The Pali form is *pañcavaggiya*.

⁵ Or *kla*.

⁶ Very doubtful, especially the second word, which might perhaps be read *mu rau*.

⁷ For *to*. It is, however, conceivable that the letter read *ma* is really the final which would turn *to* into *to*.

⁸ For *dmāñ*.

⁹ Cf. VIII A 11.

¹⁰ This seems to be the actual reading; but the Upakasamāga inscription, 1. 6, has *ma tau tau*, and the context is not quite identical.

¹¹ This supposed reading would be an error for *smar*; but both words are doubtful.

23. (smin) [Asokadhammarāt ta gaḥ II dak lo]r [ceti mway Japālaceti-
(ya)¹ tuy ma tluñ tau pujau sakā II II pḍay thān puiy Rāma-
ñadesa]
24. [l(e)r II ptup] (ca)² [kuiw Ajapālace³ te'⁴ gaḥ tuy atuiñ
duih tlañ] (ca) (thān) [te' heñ II tila ñaḥ tila cñ
batāñ]
25. ma [himu Mahārāja] (tuai)⁵ [II pḍai sakkarāt
84(2) kitu asāt masun crawek] (thay) [lak min] (gaḥ)
[II] (ma kuiw kanāñ lor)⁶ [Ajapālaceti] (wo')

Translation.

A.

Our Bodhisattva, having for six years practised asceticism in Uruveḷa,⁷ because of⁸ following the proper middle way, the principles of (2) wisdom, attention and meditation had grown great (in him). In the night of the (14th ?)⁹ of the waxing (half) of the month of Vaiśākha he beheld five great (3) dreams and made up his mind that he was to achieve (true ?) Buddhahood. On the full moon festival day, early in the morning, after attending to himself,¹⁰ (4) he approached the Ajapāla fig-tree (and having ?) alms,¹¹ (having ?), facing towards . . . the eastern quarter (and) resting (5) under the fig-tree, our Bodhisattva remained (there).

Vaiśākha
5 dreams
in N.K.

At that time Sujātā, who was the daughter of the (rich man ?) Senānī,¹² while she was still a maiden, (6) having gone to the Ajapāla fig-tree, had

¹ For *Ajapāla*.

² Doubtful.

³ For *Ajapālaceti*.

⁴ This might be *wo'*.

⁵ Very doubtful.

⁶ Mostly a conjectural restoration, but the traces of letters still legible make it probable.

⁷ Cf. Bigandet, I 72-6. Uruveḷa was a forest country.

⁸ The original seems ambiguous: either "in order to follow" or "because he followed" (in the latter case giving the reason why he attained the higher faculties mentioned immediately afterwards). But for the first sense one would expect *scwin* (cf. ll. 7, 8 *infra*).

⁹ This, though illegible, must be the right reading. Cf. Bigandet, I 79-81.

¹⁰ Or "to his person." Bigandet, I 81, has "washed his hands and face, put on his dress."

¹¹ See the note on the text.

¹² This was the name both of Sujātā's father and of the village where they lived (Buddhist Birth stories, p. 184). But Bigandet, I 77, has it, spelt in the Burmese fashion, under the form "Thena."

said, "When I have got a husband of (suitable ?) family, (and if) in my first confinement I get (7) a male child, I will offer rice cooked in milk¹ to my (lord ?)," (thus she) prayed The prayer² she had made having been fulfilled, in order (8) to make an offering to the deva of the Ajapāla fig-tree, she boiled milk rice (and) sent Puṇṇā,³ a female slave whom she employed, who had been her foster-mother, (9) to go out and clear the place (where she) was to make the offering to the deva. Then Puṇṇā, having gone out, saw the Bhodhisattva, who was facing towards the eastern quarter and resting under the fig-(10)tree. She saw that a radiance was issuing from his body and that the whole mass of the tree was of a golden colour. "Surely the deva in his own person is going to accept our (11) offering, it seems," she reflected, and returned home; and, in accordance with what she had seen, she spoke to Sujātā.

Then Sujātā was very glad and happy (in her) heart. (12) She filled a golden dish of the value of ten thousand *kaṣāpā*⁴ quite full with the rice milk, covered the rice milk with another golden dish and (13) wrapped them in a clean white cloth, decked herself with all her golden ornaments,⁵ and carrying on her head the golden dishes with the rice milk, in great splendour (14) of beauty, she went out together with the female slave Puṇṇā. Then from afar, with the radiance of the body of the Bodhisattva who was sitting (there), she saw the whole mass of the tree was of (15) a golden colour and thinking (that she) was beholding the deva of the fig-tree, she went, bowing low, to give (him) the rice milk. The golden dish wherein she had put (16) the rice milk she took down from her head, unwrapped the white cloth wherewith (she had) wrapped the (dish of) rice milk, took off the golden dish which covered (it), (and) from⁶ a golden water vessel (17) with scented water she approached the presence of the Bodhisattva and (there) she remained.

¹ This is in accordance with Buddhist Birth Stories, I.c., and Bigandet, I 79, 80, though in *another* case are we told exactly how the rice came in.

² Literally "in accordance with the prayer."

³ Bigandet, I 80, calls her "Sounama".

⁴ Sanskrit *kaṣāpāṇa*, Pali *kaḥāṭṭaṇa*, a small coin of varying value, according as it is of gold, silver or copper, but apparently usually the latter. Bigandet (I 82) has "100,000 pieces of silver."

⁵ Bigandet, I.c., has "she forthwith put on her finest dress."

⁶ Or "with." Owing to the lacuna in this line it is not clear how the words *rap ket* in the next line should be translated; they may mean "hold" or "use". Bigandet, I.c., has "offered him in a gold *tray* scented water to wash his hands."

At that moment the almsbowl, that the Mahābrahma Ghaṭikāra¹ had presented, (18) (disappeared?)² and the Bodhisattva, not seeing that almsbowl, (stretched out his?)² right hand and took the water. Then Sujātā approached and set the golden dish that was (full?) (19) of rice milk on the palm of the Bodhisattva's hand. Then she spake thus: "O my lord deva, the prayer that I prayed (20) at my lord's feet has been fulfilled for me; as the prayer of my heart was fulfilled, so also may the prayer of my lord's heart be (21) fulfilled!," (she) said; and, having (offered?)³ the golden dish which was of the value of ten thousand *kaṣāp*, Sujātā walked home.

Then the Bodhisattva walked down (22) to the bank of the river Nerañjarā and at the bathing place (named) Supatiṭṭha he partook of the rice milk. On the ground in front of the Bodhi (tree) for twenty-eight days, (23) four weeks, the exalted Buddha remained; and on the thirteenth day of the waxing (half) of the month of Jyeṣṭha, early in the morning the exalted Buddha went away (24) from the house of gems⁴ and went to stay under the Ajapāla fig-tree; for seven days, meditating on the Law and enjoying the bliss of the attainment of fruition,⁵ (25) the exalted Buddha remained (there). At that time a Brahman named Huhunkajāti approached (and) asked a question of the exalted Buddha; and the exalted Buddha (26) gave him the answer to his question.⁶

Also during the time that the exalted Buddha was staying by the side of the Ajapāla (tree),⁷ King Māra approached the presence of the exalted Buddha, and (being at) his wits' (27) end, he concluded that

¹ The name means "potter". According to Bigandet, l.c., the almsbowl that disappeared was of earthenware.

² I follow Bigandet in regard to these two words, but the second one is supported to some extent by the text.

³ Bigandet, l.c., has "making then the offering of the gold cup, worth 100,000 pieces of silver, with the same disinterestedness as if she had given over only the dry leaf of a tree, she withdrew and returned to her home with a heart overflowing with joy."

⁴ This was the fourth of the seven weeks that began when the Bodhisattva took his seat under the Bodhi tree. Cf. Bigandet, I 100.

⁵ That is, of the attainment of the several kinds of spiritual insight that a Buddha has. Cf. Bigandet, I 102.

⁶ In Bigandet (I 104-6) this incident is mentioned after the appearance of Māra and his daughters and the Brahman is called Mingalika. The Mahāvagga of the Vinayapiṭaka (I 2) has *huhunkajātiko*, interpreted as "of a haughty disposition", not as the man's name; Buddhaghosa adds that he was *diḥhamāṅgalika* (F. Max Müller, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, p. 79).

⁷ With the remainder of Face A of this inscription Bigandet I 102-4 can be compared.

the exalted Buddha was a true Buddha, "a pure, true man", he said. He looked away from the Ajapāla fig-tree (and) having walked towards (28) the eastern quarter, sat down in the middle of the high road, (where) he drew sixteen lines (and then) remained anxious and dazed. At that time (29) his distress of mind was very great, (having remained ?)¹, in (the end ?)¹ he lost consciousness, he knew no more. When (30) Māra had lost consciousness, King Indra lifted him up and King Indra informed Pañcasīkha of this.²

At that moment the three daughters of Māra, named Tanhā, Aratī and (31) Rāgā, seeing their royal father was in a dazed state, came down (and), having³ to their father, approached the presence of the exalted Buddha Forms of (32) young maidens, three hundred at one time, forms of girls that had not borne a child, three hundred at one time, forms of women who had borne one child, three hundred at one time, forms of women who had borne two children, three hundred at one (33) time, forms of women of middling age, three hundred at one time, (and) forms of somewhat older⁴ women, three hundred at one time, in these six ways, (as) three hundred women at a time, did they create,⁵ and, (34) approaching the presence of the exalted Buddha, addressed the exalted Buddha. (But) they had no chance. (of success) and (35) they returned to their father.

B

After our lord the exalted Buddha (had remained under ?)⁶ the Rājāyatana tree for seven days,⁷ (he) came away from the Rājāyatana tree and returned (2) again to the place of the Ajapāla fig tree, (where) the exalted Buddha remained (enjoying ?)⁶ the fruition of attainment.⁸ During the time when he was staying at that place (3) a very anxious thought

¹ There is some doubt as to the meaning here owing to the lacuna and the reading *kanat* is not quite certain.

² Presumably this is what is meant, though the reading is not quite certain. Pañcasīkha was a deva.

³ Some expression like "given help" (or "comfort") would be appropriate here. The two illegible words in the text have not been identified.

⁴ Literally, "big" or "bigger".

⁵ The translation assumes that in the reading of the text, which is doubtful, *nimit* is used as a verb, in the sense of "to form, to create" and *bdah* means the same thing. If instead of *bdah* we read *bat* "likeness", there is no substantial difference in the sense but the construction seems rather strained.

⁶ Conjecturally restored.

⁷ This was the seventh of the seven great weeks. Cf. A 24 *supra*, and Bigandet, I 107.

⁸ Cf. A 24 *supra*, and Bigandet, I 111-5, for what follows, down to B 21 *infra*.

occurred to the exalted Buddha: "This Law, which I have succeeded in getting to understand is deep, very deep, (4) very hard for men to perceive, very hard for men to understand, very¹ If I preach to other people in accordance with this Law which I have succeeded in understanding they will not understand (it) (5) and I myself² shall surely be tired out. In accordance with this Law which I have succeeded in understanding, I will³ (6) worship (and) make offerings and I will continually keep (it). To other people I do not want to preach (it)," (he) said. (Thus), one by one, thoughts, of how to exert himself but little⁴ in preaching the Law to (7) others, occurred to the exalted Buddha.

Then the Mahābrahma Sahampati, having become aware of the thoughts of the exalted Buddha, assembled a retinue of the company of Brahmas and the company of devas who (8) dwell in a hundred thousand universes and approached the presence of the exalted Buddha. Then, bending one knee to the ground and lifting up his joined hands, (9) (he) revered the exalted Buddha and asked as a boon from the exalted Buddha that he would preach the Law to all beings.⁵ The exalted Buddha, on his part, (10) granted the boon to the Mahābrahma Sahampati. that day,⁶ on the land around the Mahābodhi tree the exalted Buddha wandered for alms, (11) and then remained on that land.

At the hour of midnight, (on) the fourteenth of the waxing (half) of the month of Āṣāḍha, this thought occurred to the exalted Buddha: "Inasmuch as the hermit Ālara (12) Kālāma, who taught (and) expounded (to me?) the law of the seven stages of attainment,⁷ was of very great service to me, to the hermit Ālara Kālāma (13) it is fitting that I should preach the Law first," thus he (resolved?). Then, having become aware of the fact that the hermit Ālara had died seven

¹ Reading doubtful and meaning undetermined.

² Or "my body".

³ The meaning of the rest of the line is doubtful. As it stands it might be "make clear (and) delight (in)" or "set my heart on", but this leaves *laḍḍhiṇ*, which has not been identified, untranslated. Perhaps we should read *pa keṇ* "practise". Cf. I D 19. If we read *theṇ* (instead of *heṇ*) the meaning would be "I think I will", etc., but this seems less probable.

⁴ The reading not being quite certain, there is some doubt as to the meaning.

⁵ The literal sense appears to be "in order that he might get (him) to preach the Law to all sentient beings (the Mahābrahma Sahampati) asked the exalted Buddha for a boon", i.e. he asked the favour, that Buddha would preach the Law.

⁶ Owing to the lacuna it is not clear whether it should be "day" or "days".

⁷ That is the first seven of the ecstatic states enumerated under the head of *samāpatti*.

days before and gone (14) into existence in the region of "nothingness",¹ (he said), "Inasmuch as the hermit Ālāra Kālāma is no more, (and) seeing that the hermit Udaka, son of Rāma, (15) taught (and) expounded the law of the attainment of "neither consciousness nor unconsciousness"² (and) was of (great) service to me, . . . to the hermit Udaka it is fitting (16) that I should preach the Law first." (Thus) saying, (this) resolve of the exalted Buddha arose (in his mind). (Then ?) having become aware of the fact that the hermit Udaka had died in the middle of that night and gone into existence (17) in the region of "neither consciousness nor unconsciousness,"³ (he said), "Inasmuch as the hermit Udaka is no more, and the five monks, who ministered . . . to me (when ?) (18) (I was) practising asceticism, were of very great service to me, to (these) five monks it is fitting that I should preach the Law first." (19) "In what place do the five monks dwell?" (he) said; and the exalted Buddha reflected . . . (20) Having become aware of the fact that the five monks had made their dwelling-place in the country of Benares in the forest of Isipatana, "I will go (to the country of Benares ?)," (21) (he) said; and on the festival day of the full moon of Āṣāḍha, the exalted Buddha went away from (beneath ?) the Ajapāla fig-tree

(The place of ?) (22) the Ajapāla fig-tree having been a place of sustenance of⁴ the exalted Buddha, the kings of old who were possessed of piety, who took delight in the religion, beginning with (23) King Asokadhammarāja, having built a caitya, the Ajapālacaitya, came (there and) worshipped (and) made offerings. In our country of Rāmaññadesa (24) . . . (also ?), saying "Imitate yonder Ajapālacaitya," in accordance with the orientation of (the) sides (of) that (place ?), His Majesty, the Lord of the White Elephant⁵ (25) who was named Mahārāja, in the year 842⁶ of the Common Era, the fifth of the waning (half) of the month Āṣāḍha, (a . . . day ?), Pisces being *lagna*,⁷ (built ?)⁸ this Ajapālacaitya 1480

¹ The third of the Arūpabrahmaloka regions. This assumes an emendation of the reading in the text, q.v.

² The eighth stage of *samāpatti*.

³ The fourth of the Arūpabrahmaloka regions.

⁴ Or simply, "a place used by".

⁵ It seems as if some expression like "gave orders to" were needed here. Cf. XIV 12.

→ ⁶ The last numeral is not quite certain, nor is the week-day.

⁷ That is, tangential to the eastern horizon.

⁸ Very doubtful, see the note on the text.

see muchalinda ins.

infra.
P. 12

(241)

1479

No. XIV.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEGUGYI PAGODA, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

89. This is a mere fragment containing only the last 13 lines of a record, and most of them in an imperfect condition. It measures 1 ft. 8 in. in height by 2 ft. in breadth. The letters and the interlinear space are of the same dimensions as in No. XIII.

90. So far as it is preserved, this record is concerned with the events which happened in the second and third of the seven weeks that began when Buddha took his seat under the Bodhi tree. For these, reference may be made to the account contained in Bigandet, I, pp. 99-100. Put shortly, after leaving his majestic seat under the tree of enlightenment, Buddha stood gazing at it steadfastly without winking an eye, and in deep meditation, which caused the devas to think that he regretted having left it and that he had not yet attained Buddhahood.¹ At the end of those seven days, in order to remove their doubts, he raised himself miraculously into the air and performed miracles which convinced them that he was really a Buddha (cf. ll. 1-6 of the inscription). Having come down to earth again he proceeded to spend the following week, the third of the great seven weeks, still in deep meditation, walking up and down the "cloistered walk" or ambulatory which the devas had prepared for him, and it is especially this that the inscription is intended to commemorate (cf. ll. 8-13).

2nd/3rd wk

p. 100
correct*Text.*

1. (kyāk tray) [gah II lukau dapah tñai] (nda)²
[mat ma ha go']
2. [laḥay] (gah)³ [II het]
. [ñ] [kyāk]

¹ The *Nidānakathā* has a slightly different version, viz. that the doubts in the minds of the devas arose while Buddha was still under the Bodhi tree, from which they inferred that "there must be something more Siddhattha has to do, for he still lingers seated there." (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, new and revised edition, p. 200). Presumably this is an older version than the one in our record and in Bigandet.

² This is shaped as if it were *nda* (as also in XII C 49, D 28, 36, 38, 47, 50) and should perhaps be so transliterated. I think, however, that it is identical with the modern particle *da* (pronounced *te*) though it may be merely a damaged *ra* here. The subscript *d* in (sa)ndehi, ll. 3, 4, is also of much the same shape.

³ The reading is doubtful. The initial letter, which is blurred, looks like a *dh*.

3. (tray)¹ (sa)nd[e]h
de[w]atau gam[l]uiñ t[o]' [ktuiw dah]
4. (sa)nd(e)h
[de]wa[tau to' gah]
5. tu(y) II ta[b]ah
kuiw pāt[ihā kuiw] (dewa)tau ga-
6. (mluiñ)² [' tuy]
II kyāk [tray cuih] tl[u]ñ
7. [ñka] (ra kuim) [ma
datau g]ah II [bramāk] a paluit[t II no(r)]
8. [p]aluit [a] bramāk II [lukau d]a[p]ah tñā [kyāk] tray
ca[n]kram [t]au ra II pda[y thān cañkram]
9. ga[h] smiñ tamla [m]a sadhā ma pa tañ ku smiñ
A[s]oka[dhammarāt] ga[h II cañkram k]wom
10. [ku] c[e]ti bā [r]a-i[t] cañkram gah II [k]u[iw] kanam lam³ cuiw
ku lamah nw[ā]m tau II p[d]ay thān puiy
11. [Rāmañ]ad[e]sa wo' [g]ah II [ptu]p ca [ku th]ān [te'] tuy II [tui]ñ
duih [t]lañ [b]na[t] p[r]aḇat
12. (') . . . [ñ]⁴ II [tila ñah tila c]iñ [bat]ā[n II p-aw]
k[w]on [truh] m[way ma h]im[u Ba]-
13. (ñā)⁵ [II ma k(a)ndañ]⁶ (law) [ceti bā kwam ku
ratanacañkram wo' II II]

¹ Conjecturally restored.

² Conjecturally restored. It may have been *gah*, not *gamluiñ*.

³ This can also be transliterated *lā*, a modern spelling for *la'* (pronounced *lo'*), which occurs in our records as *lo'*, with the sense of "a long time". I can make nothing of either *lam* or *lā* and suspect that *law* was intended, as in l. 13 where it is the probable reading.

⁴ One may conjecture *thān te' heñ* (cf. XIII B 24).

⁵ The reading is doubtful. If correct, it means "prince".

⁶ The *d* is written as *ḍ*. The vowel of the first syllable may possibly be *i*.

Translation.

..... the exalted Buddha, during the seven days (when he) could¹ not (2) . . . blink (with) his eyes; because the exalted (3) Buddha doubts arose in the minds of the devas (4) the doubts of the devas (5) and the exalted Buddha showed forth miracles to the devas, (6) and the exalted Buddha came down (7)² (from) the east going to the west, from (8) the west going to the east, during seven days the exalted Buddha kept walking to and fro.³

In the place where he had walked (9) the kings of old who had faith, beginning with Asokadhammarāja, caused to be built an ambulatory together (10) with two caityas at the ends of the ambulatory; (they) stand even until now.

In this our country (11) of Rāmaññadesa, in imitation of that place, in accordance with the orientation of the sides and the dimensions (12) (of that place?), His Majesty the Lord of the White Elephant, ordered a son (of his) who was named (Bañā?) (13) to erect two caityas together with this precious ambulatory. *mon*

get the mon

¹ This is the literal rendering but the sense is "did".

² In the absence of a context it is not possible to make sure of the sense of *ñka dalaḥ gah*. It may mean "where (he) was". If we may conjecture that *ñka* is a remnant of *bodhipallāṅka*, the seat under the Bodhi tree (as the superscript *ñ* in l. 2 may also be), the words could mean "where (he) had stayed." The ambulatory ran from the Bodhi seat to the place where he had stood gazing at it (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, new and revised edition, p. 201.)

³ With the first part of this inscription compare XV 5-9.

No. XV.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE SHWEDAGON PAGODA, RANGOON.

Descriptive Account.

91. This inscription is engraved on two faces of a stone slab. On the obverse one (Face A) the space originally occupied by lettering appears to have been 5 ft. 3 in. (or more) in height by 4 ft. in breadth. On the reverse (Face B) it is 5 ft. 8 in. by 4 ft. The letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, letter *t* is about $\frac{3}{8}$ in. long and the interlinear space is about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. but becomes less in the lower part of the obverse. This face must have contained at least 56 lines, but it is in such a bad state that no consecutive transcript or translation can be made of it as it stands. Enough of it has been preserved to make it plain that, after a reference to his meeting the early Buddha Dīpaṅkara in a former life, it deals briefly with the events in Gautama Buddha's career during the momentous seven weeks and especially, at greater length, with the story of the brothers Tapussa and Bhallika and their meeting with him, mentioned in § 85. The reverse, though a good deal weathered and otherwise damaged, especially in the first twelve lines, is in a much better condition. But there also there are many gaps, which interrupt the continuity of the narrative and obscure its meaning.

92. After repeated and intermittent study, spread over a number of years, it appeared to me that I had done all that I could do in the way of deciphering and interpreting this record. But in October 1932 Professor Pe Maung Tin was good enough to send me an extract, with translation, of a Pali text entitled Nalāṭadhātuvaṃsa, which at that moment I could not deal with as my time was fully taken up with other duties. In the following summer he drew my attention to further evidence capable of throwing light on the Mōn Shwedagon inscription and eventually sent a duplicate copy of the Pali extract and translation, a translation of the Burmese inscription of the same pagoda, and also his own transcript and translation of the Mōn inscription. [The Burmese record runs on much the same lines as the obverse of the Mōn one, while the Pali extract illustrates the first few lines of the reverse.] As he proposed to publish all this

material, we both considered that it would be better to collaborate, rather than work apart. For all this assistance I am much indebted, for without it I should not have been able to produce the present text and translation, which, though still inevitably far from perfect, are much better than my former drafts. Where I have either adopted Professor Pe Maung Tin's readings or modified them, the fact is indicated by his initials in the notes on the text. In some cases I did not venture to adopt them because the words were not legible in the ink-impressions which I had.

93. In view of Professor Pe Maung Tin's intention to publish all the relevant material above mentioned and having regard to the condition of the obverse face of the Môn record, it does not seem necessary to say much more about its presumable contents in this place. Besides the sources mentioned in § 87 reference may be made to the brief account of Tapussa and Bhallika in the *Slapat Rajāwan* (edited and translated by Father W. Schmidt in *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Band CLI (1906) pp. 63 seqq. and 77-8, and again by R. Halliday in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (1923) Vol. XIII, pt. I, pp. 40-3), and a summary mention in G. H. Hough, Translation of an inscription on the great bell of Rangoon (in *Asiatic Researches* (1828) Vol. XVI, pp. 273, 282-3). Bigandet's account (in his work mentioned in § 87, Vol. I, pp. 108—10) is somewhat more detailed.

94. The story told on the reverse differs from these narratives by bringing in the Ceylon king and the two monks who play a prominent part in it. But from the historical point of view the second half of this face is the more interesting one and may be compared with a number of passages in the above-mentioned historical work which tell of the repairs and improvements made at the Shwedagon pagoda by successive Môn sovereigns. interest
Ceyl

The inscription itself is not dated, but as the concluding lines give a detailed account of what was done in this respect by King Dhammaceti's royal mother-in-law and by Dhammaceti himself, it may reasonably be surmised that the record was made in his time. There is, however, one date, in l. 26 of Face B, connected with the celebrated Môn King Rāmarājādhira, who reigned in the first half of the 15th century. unn

Text.

A

1. [gah pa pañidhā]¹ [pḍay] [tañ joñ kyāk]¹
[tray] [Dīpañkuiw tuy]¹²
2. (bapēñ bwoy ramen)¹ [tuy II] (II dhar
bodhisambhār)¹ [ma ā cuip] (ma lwon)
3. (pḍay smar tnañ jray bodhi)¹
. (ku pradhān jnañ gah)¹ [krajo' dman̄ñ tuy II buiw pñān]
[dewaputta Mā]¹ (ḥ sjuin̄ ra)
4. [ma twah] (bgah)³ [sabbaññutaññān ma
gñi tau na] (trawah)⁴ [ma twah] (bgah)³ [grakwom gun ma] (sak)
.
5. (tradah)¹ [kyāk] (ra II go' tradah)¹ [kyāk tuy II] (pḍay
jaren bodhipallañ)¹ [gah II] [casuñ wimuttisukha]¹ [tuy II] (na
thawhāy mwoy)⁵ lu[kau dapah tñay II] (ka)⁶
6. [kyāk tray ha go' ktuiw] (nū pallañ)¹ [ma lep
pa kuiw tradah kyāk gah] (snom)¹ [ni]m ra gah [tu]y [II sandeh'
ktuiw dah]
7. (ma randuk ku dacām tñay) (kyāk tray)
[tuy het ma] [pleñ kle' sandeh' dewatau]¹ ta ga[h] II ka[lāñ tum
bwoy lamh]a(y)
8. (pleñ kle')¹ [sandeh' dewatau] (ta' gah tuy II nū pallañ)
. [II cuih dah dman̄ñ t]u[y II lukau
dapah] tñay [na m]a(t)

¹ P.M.T.² The dots at the beginning and end of the first sixteen lines merely indicate that something is missing without precise reference to its amount. Elsewhere on this face a dot indicates a missing *akara* (not two, as in other parts of these inscriptions), approximately.³ Looks like *ggah*.⁴ Perhaps an error for *tradah*.⁵ Based on P.M.T. but very doubtful. The last word looks like *mwoy*. Cf. XVII 8, 9.⁶ This may be for *kajo'* or *kaleñ*. The vowel of the second syllable is either *e* or *o*.⁷ Cf. XIV. 3, 4. The *d* has the form of *ḍ*.

- [illegible]

1 P.M.T.

¹ Conjecturally restored.

² Possibly *Mucalind*. There appears to be a *virāma* here. But the name should be *Mucalinda*.

¹ P.M.T. reads *jhānasukha*.

19. [Asītañjananāguir]¹ (mahāsamut)
 (tuy II)¹
20. (nisray)² [tau *ku cran kruñ]
21. (bwoy t) (ket) [smar kyā] (deh)
 (pday)
22. II (II kwon ey).

23.
24. (jak tau kwi kuim)
25. (tuy II) (jraku)
26. (gah II) : (tnaṁ chu Rā)³
27. (gah II ey) (rwoñ II) [dān piṇḍāpat]
28. (deh ta' gah)
29. (ḍāk) (tuy II kusuiw)
30. . II [kyāk tray]
 (mwoy)
31. (cu) [ku kyāk tray]

¹ P.M.T.² Very doubtful.³ If rightly read this is presumably the first syllable of *Rajayatana*.

32. [magga¹ II pñor ñah]² (ma ā cuip)¹
 [l] . . . [n]
33. (dewa manussa)¹ [ḍeh ta'] (gaṅgeṇ tluṇ tuy II pḍay
 kāla lakthak kyāk tray)¹ [tuy II kwōn]
 (dakuip)
34. [II ma kuiw dān piṇḍapāt] [ku kyāk tray]¹
 . . . (II pñor)
 (ḍeh)
35. . . (tuy II)¹ [ḍeh ta' prāp ā jareṇ kyāk tray]
 [tīla ey kyāk].
36. [tray]¹ [gah kuiw puiy ḍik go']² (kuiw āhāra klā ñi)¹
 [ḍeh ta']

37. . . . (dewa manussa)¹ [gaṅgeṇ tluṇ tuy] (II pḍay kāla)¹ [kyāk tray]
 [II kwon]
 (tuy) [II lukau cñām] (ma gluiṇ)¹
38. (ḍeh ta' gah) [II ku bhikku saṇ]¹ [kuiw dān tau tuy II] (klā nū
 Bodhisat puiy)¹
 [go' yamu] (Pokkharawati)¹
39. [ḍeh ta ktuiw dah kwon samñeh ma dah dakuip banik mwōy ra
 II] . . (gah) (ḍeh ta' ñah ḥa)¹ [ma tau
 pḍay] [II pḍay] (kāla ma dah raḥ gah II)¹
40. [kwom ku kwon bani³ masun klaṇ] (ḍok kḥaṇ tuy klo' ā)¹
 [mhāsamut tuy II] (ā cuip)¹ (pḍay kwī
 masun)⁴ (klaṇ tuy cut bapeṇ drap)⁴ [waṇ pa tau banik tuy II
 ḍeh ta']

P.M.T.

Or wo'.

For banik.

Very doubtful.

41. (gañgeñ tau)¹ [heñ II rau. wwo'] (heñ)² [paṭṭhanā deh ta' ma pa tuy]¹ (gah II) (pḍay) (batwon deh ta' rwoñ II)¹ [khā gah Taphussa Bhallika] (ñah ḅā)¹
42. (ko ku de' miñ ket galān³ dewatau ma huim II)¹ [mip cuit pumah tuy II] (nū yāñ deh ta')¹ [lo' san II] (thaḅoh jamkah kuim lar II thaḅoh)¹ . .
43. [kleñ brawut]⁴ [kuim lar II] [cut lar tuy]¹ (kyāk tray)¹ [kyāk tray II] (het⁵ hitasukha)¹ [ma sdah ku puiy ḍik] (ta')¹
44. [tīla ey duñ ket dāñ puiy ḍik ñi II rau gah deh ta' huim] (ku kyāk tray ra II)¹ (kyāk tray tun ler) [II gasap ma rau w(w)o' ktuiw dah ra II babēñ Ghaṭikāra Mahābrui]- ~~---~~
45. (m ma kuiw dāñ ku ey pḍay) [crañ kruñ Anoma gah ler II] (ey duñ praman)¹ (Sujātā)⁶ [II kyāk tray tamlā tun ler II pḍay gatā tay heñ] (ma duñ)¹
46. (ket piṇḍapāt)¹ [ñah ma kuiw dāñ ka' mwoy] . . .⁸ (II yarau pḍay watthu mwoy)⁹ (piṇḍapāt Tapussa Bhallika)¹ [ma kuiw dāñ wo'] ro II rau [gah gasap cuit kyāk]
47. [tray ktuiw dah ra II khā gah smin Catumahārāt] (pan tim)¹⁰ [ket] [gasap cuit]¹ (kyāk tray tuy Iḥ) [ku kyāk tray ra II kyāk tray tun ler II] (het skuiw)
48. (badah phuiw ma jnok)¹ [ku smin Catumahārāt pan tuy II] (uit)¹ [pabēñ pan gah] (duñ ket tuy)¹ [bdah pabēñ mwoy ra II pḍay pabēñ kyāk]

¹ P.M.T.² Possibly *gah*.³ Not clear on the ink-impression.⁴ Or *brabut*, the text reading is from P.M.T.⁵ The actual reading may be *ket* but the sense requires *het*.⁶ Very doubtful.⁷ Perhaps *ha*, as P.M.T.⁸ The doubtful word here looks like *rañ*, which may be an error for *roñ*, or *rwoñ*.⁹ P.M.T. But for *yarau* he reads *mñ rau*, which seems to make better sense.¹⁰ Conjecturally restored.

49. [tray gah II deh ta' ñah ɓa ko ku de' cut ket] (thaɓoh jamkah)¹
 (II pɗay kála)¹ [kyāk tray]

50. [gah tun ler II ɗāk] .. [deh ta' ket nan kuiw ku kyāk tray] ...
 (deh ta') (tun II khā gah)¹
 (kyāk tray)

51. [dando' batwon dhar ku deh ta']

52. (gah rau)¹ [wwō' deh ta' ñah ɓa] (gah kyāk tray)¹
²

was like 56 lines

B

1. (t)³ ɗe[h]⁴ ta['] ma [spa pūjau ta]w[āk
 g]a(h) [II khā gah t]a(d)a[h] deh⁴ ta' [ma het mbāy] (. . .)⁵ II
 [smi]ñ [nāk mwoy ma him]u Jayasena [m]a tau [tau p]ɗa[y
 bhūmindhara⁶ n](āgabhow)⁷

2. (deh ta') [ñ]ah ɓa ma het mbā[y t]uy II (k)e[t] phy[ih⁸
 nā lar pɗay thā]n jaku (ɗ)e(h)⁹ [ta'] (tuy ma tau pū)j(au ra) [II
 II pɗay] k[āla krau] (payā)m *pa*

3. (g)a[h] II [mi]k [kan](h)am¹⁰ ceti [tuy II dlam
 dhāt le]r [kuiw kan(h)am¹⁰ II Buddhapat]i[mā ler kuiw kan](h)am¹⁰
 (tuy II nalātadhāt gah cut¹¹ pɗay) [tneñ Buddhapatimā ra II
 pɗay] (dhā)-

¹ P.M.T.

² There appear to have been about half-a-dozen more lines, now illegible.

³ Or *k*.

⁴ Looks like *ɗey* (which is impossible here).

⁵ The first letter looks like *pa* or *ma*, the second like *t* or *h*.

⁶ The *dh* is perhaps for *t*. See the note on the text.

⁷ Conjecturally restored (cf. 1.5.).

⁸ The contemporary spelling is *phyuih*, but no *u* is visible here.

⁹ Either at this point or between the *e* and the *h*, there is a blur which in the latter case may be an original flaw. If not an original flaw, there is a lacuna of the size of two or three *aksharas*.

¹⁰ The contemporary spelling is variable, but in the occurrences of the word in this line there is a script *h* (or conceivably it might be a *d* formed like a *ɗ*). Between the first *kan(h)am* and the next there is a small flaw.

¹¹ The three preceding words are due to P.M.T.

4. (t swo)k k[y]āk [tray s]mīn mi[k¹ go] [cut k]w[om tuy II smīn]
 (pa)² [sajuiñ Cūlapinḍapāt](ikatissathe kuiw ket ran)³ [dhāt
 swok ra II Cūlapinḍapāt](ikatissathe)⁴
 (ma)⁵
5. [himu Si]wa[th]e⁶ [kuiw ā cuih k]e[t dh]ā[t swok smīn nāk
 Jayasena ma ā lar pḍay bhūmindhara nā](gabhow ra II)⁷
 . . [Siwathe gah] cu[ih ā cuip smīn nāk] (ra) [II smīn nāk] . .

6. [ma sket] dh[āt] tuy II [dh]ā[t s]uim [kr]o[t] sm[iñ nāk nīt lar]⁸
 tuy II dhāt ha bwoy ku ey II tīla ey⁹ nāt] (ra II tīla ey ket)
 [k]e[t ra] II [i]ñā[h] smīn nāk [gaḥ II]

7. [t] ket paṭiñā[n k]u [s]mīn nāk (pi¹⁰ leh)¹¹ [tūy¹² II na idhi gah]
 dhā[t swok gah ket ket tuy II kuiw ku smīn Kākawaṇṇatissa¹³
 ra] II s[mīn Kākawaṇṇatissa]¹³ t[un ler II]

8. [gah] t[tuy II l]atū kḍip Buddhapa[t]imā [gah lar t]u[y] II
 [Bud]dhapa[tim]ā gah [th]ā[panā lar pḍ]ay [dl]am [tuy II] (kuiw)
 [II II Tapussa Bhalika ñ]aḥ b[ā ko
 k]u [de' wo] [tun]
9. t[au] p[ḍay] w[ih]ā¹⁴ Jeta[wan gah II uit up]aḥ [gamluin kui]m II
 pa[bwoy ramen hen] (I) kyā[k tray daḥut]
 (tuy II) [pnor ñ]aḥ [ma ā saraṇagamana gah p]ḍay [thān]

¹ Looks like *mit*.

² P.M.T. (one could read *ma*, but *pa* seems to be required by the sense).

³ P.M.T. (but the last word may be *nañ*).

⁴ P.M.T.

⁵ Conjecturally restored.

⁶ Possibly *Swathe*.

⁷ Cf. I. 1.

⁸ P.M.T. (I had formerly read this as *witak ra* and interpreted it as "reflect").

⁹ At this point there is a small gap; I can see no letter in it. P.M.T. reads *ra*.

¹⁰ P.M.T. Actually this looks like *bī*, "ocean, river", but that may be due to subsequent damage.

¹¹ Doubtful. See the note on the text. I had formerly read *hen*, which seemed possible.

¹² Or *tuy*.

¹³ P.M.T. (I had read the initial letter as *t*, which is in fact its shape in the second occurrence of the name, the first being hardly legible. In medieval Môn inscriptions the letters *k*, *t*, *th*, *y*, *l* and *h* are hard to distinguish when the stone is weathered or otherwise damaged.)

¹⁴ Or *wiha* (the more correct spelling).

10. [ma daḅut lar] rwoñ II [krau] ww[o]' khā kyāk tra[y ma tau pḍay Rājagruhi II] de[h fa'] (ñahḥ bā plan a)¹ [mwoy] (tñay ra) [t]un II [tuy prāp a jareñ k]yā[k tray liñwor tuy pḍay] (thān) (ka)-²
11. j[o'] d[m]ā[n³ tau] ra [II k]yāk [t]ra[y t]wa[h dhar ku deh ta' ra II Tapussa] gah go' [sotāpatiphuiw⁴ ra II] (tuin lamih)⁵ [u]p[āsaka dmāñ tau ra II Bhallika gah pa gam-i t]u[y] (pa mar)⁶ [wi]p[assanā] (tuy II go')⁷
12. [ra tuy II Bhallikathe]⁸ gah [yam]u [tīla]⁹ gah [ra II T]apus[sa tun gah] II [plan cau tluñ Asitañjananāguir tuy II pḍay ceti dhāt swok kyāk tray ma deh ta' thāpanā] [la]tū kḍip tm[o' Tambag]utta¹⁰ (ḍuk)¹¹
13. (peñ wat) [p]aṭi[pat t]uy II dm[āñ] yā[m] bna[t ayuk tuy] II [c]u[ti] ā n[ū] ga[h] ā ktuiw dah pḍay ḍuñ swar ra II II ceti [dhāt swok] (te')¹² [ñah] [ma¹³ ti]m pa[ray] (wat)¹⁴ [l]i[n]wor [pū]au [t]au ra II krau wwo' [tno]r [ñah] (ma tim) [paray dh]āt [swok]
14. [kyāk tray ma sgut] ā tuy II pḍay [th]ān [rah] rman wwo' tun ler II sāsa[nā ha go'] tan (cu)i-[p dah uiw da ci] (II ceti)¹⁵ [dhāt swok gah] ña[h ha tim tuy] II [ñah ha] go' l[in]w[o]r [p]ūjau [h]e[n] ra [II II het] ña[h ma ha go']

¹ P.M.T.² Conjecturally restored.³ Looks like *dmāw*.⁴ The first *i* looks like *l*. I owe the *ph* to P.M.T.⁵ P.M.T.'s reading *tuin lamih* is by no means clear on my ink-impressions.⁶ P.M.T. (I had read *pa-a*).⁷ The last word is very doubtful, but cf. the preceding *go'*.⁸ The *Bh* resembles an *A*.⁹ Or *tīla* (P.M.T.)¹⁰ This seems to be the actual reading, though the *T* might be *K* both here and in II. 20, 23.¹¹ Conjecturally restored.¹² Very doubtful. The final letter looks like *m* and the *virāma* is uncertain.¹³ Very doubtful. It may be merely a damaged space.¹⁴ Possibly *gah*.¹⁵ Very doubtful. One would expect *dnay* (cf. I. 20, *infra*).

15. [līnwor pūjau gah] kuim, nda' II [pḍay] thā[n c]etī ga[h] II ma
[pa t]am̄ [ku tn]am̄ [chu juk grup kambat han t]a ga[h] (klut
tuin tuy II dah)² [grup gah] (badan)³ uiw tuy II ñah ha tim
dnāy w]ā[y heñ ra II II nor cnām tila⁴ puiy kyā]k tra[y]
16. [ma pa parinibbā]n [gah] II bā [k]la[m̄ pi cwoh turau cnām gah
kuli lwon] ā t[u]y II [t]īla⁵ puiy [a]ra[han] b[ā] mā himu
Soṇathe Uttarathe gah tluñ ptanī sā]sar[ā pḍay d[u]ñ S[uwaṇṇ]a-
bhum [ra] II kh[ā s]ā[sanā ma tan] tuy II gam-[ī]
17. [truh] II gam-[ī] brau II sāmā]nī [tr]u[h] II [sāmā]nī br[au] II
khā [ma nwom⁶ tuy gah II] khā [gah] smiñ Si[rī]mā[soka gah
II gah] ku ti[la' puiy bā] (ra II t)o'⁸ [tīla⁶ ey] II dha[m]ma[rat]
II sa[ngha]rat ga[h puiy ḍik go'] li[wwo]r⁹ pūjau
18. (ra II [Buddhar]atana m[w]o[y gah puiy ḍik] mik l[inwor pū]jau
ha go') . . (') [II] dh[āt] kyā[k] tray [tuy puiy ḍik] ma [sgo']
phyui[h cuit Bu]d[dh]ara[t puiy ḍik ma sgo' līnwor pū]jau [ey]
pura[y¹⁰ gah] II ti[la ey]
19. [ta' reñ ku puiy ḍik ñi II rau gah] sm[in pa āyāc]anā [ku tila
puiy ra II II khā ga]h tila pui[y mahāthe bā gah II ce[tī dh[āt]
s[w]o[k] kyā[k t]ra[y] II m[in T]ap[ussa] II [Bhallika II ma
thāpan]ā lar p[ḍay latū kḍi]¹¹-
20. [p tmo' Tambagutta]¹² II dasuiw grup ma grop badan lar tuy ma]
ñah ha ti[m dnāy gah II taḇah] k[u]iw ku [smiñ-Si]r[imāsoka]¹³
ra II [khā gah smiñ-Siri]m[āsoka]¹³ II kuiw [ñ]ah taḇ [kle' ca]a[h
jañah] (kle') [dasuiw grup tuy] II [ce]-

¹ See XIV 1. n. (and cf. 1. 21, *infra*).

² The last word is very doubtful.

³ P.M.T. But the word seems doubtful. Cf. 1. 20, however.

⁴ Perhaps *tila*.

⁵ Or *tila*.

⁶ An original *y* has been corrected to *m*.

⁷ Or *tila*.

⁸ Or *ho'* (P.M.T.) But it must be meant for the introductory interjection *yo'* (cf. XII A 34, 50.)

⁹ Error for *līnwor*.

¹⁰ There is a marked stroke under the *p*, but possibly it is a later disfigurement, not the symbol for *u*.

¹¹ Possibly *kḍi*.

¹² Cf. 1. 12 n.

¹³ The *ñ* in *smiñ* (if there is one) is superscript over the following letter. *Siri*^o may be *Siri*^o.

21. [tī kui]m [lar II prasāt¹ ma.dāh]² (g)[uim]³ cet[īyaghara kuim lar]
II k[u]iw kanān⁴ [tuy] (pa)⁵ [tau pū]au ra [II II pa tam]⁶ nū
gah [kuim] nda' II [uit ku nāh ma t]au pda[y] thān [r]ah
[rma]n [wwō' gah] II [pabwoy⁸ ram]en he[n] (ma)⁹ tluñ [tau
pū]au heñ ra II]
22. krau [wwō'] s[m]in ma [n]w[om tau ku s]addhā ma [pa t]i[la] rah
[rman ta gah II c]etīyaghara w[wo' tadah] thāwara' la[r cu]it
[t]uy II [ce]tīyaghara gah c]aḍaḥ k[l]e' tuy II ma dak grop
grop] janwo[k] (tlan¹⁰ cetī)
23. [wwō' bwoy ram[en t]uy] II ce[t]i w[wo' dah m]ahā[c]e[t]i [rwoñ
II II II] II [tila puiy cetī dhā]t [swok kyāk tray] m(in)
Ta[pu]s[s]a Bha[l]lika] ma [thāpanā lar pday] la[t]ū kḍ[ui]p¹¹ tma[
Tambagutta¹² wwō' II pday k]ā-
24. [la tila n]ah [tala¹³ cīn batān ma hi]mu Dhamma[trailo]kyanā[th]a-
r[ājādhi]rā[t ma pa smiñ gah II prasāt¹⁴ ma dah cetīyaghara gah
caḍaḥ kle' tuy II (ma dak)¹⁵ . . . [j]anwot¹⁶ [r]w[on] II [khā
ma dak] gah da[h 40] ha[t]
25. [sal]uñ [ra krau] w[o' p]da[y kāla tila nāh Sutasomarājādhiraṭ ma
pa smiñ gah] II [kuiw dak lhom janok¹⁷ plan tun II] da[k l]h[om
j]ano[k¹⁷ tuy heñ II yok] . . (c)a[lān II yok t]ḍ[on II] (dlaḥ)
sl]u[y gah]

¹ For *prasāt*.² Or *dak*.³ The last letter seems to be definitely *m*; the first might be *w*. Possibly the word is a badly-spelt *im*. Cf. I. 24.⁴ There is little or no indication of a subscript letter here, but cf. I. 3.⁵ The supposed *pa* very much resembles II.⁶ Or *gata* (P.M.T.) But there seem to be traces of an *anusvāra*.⁷ Cf. XIV 1 n.⁸ Possibly *babwoy*.⁹ Looks like *pa*, or conceivably II (P.M.T.)¹⁰ Doubtful. The first letter may be *k*.¹¹ Possibly *kḍip*.¹² Cf. I. 12 n.¹³ Perhaps *tila*.¹⁴ Cf. I. 21.¹⁵ P.M.T.¹⁶ For *janwok*.¹⁷ Probably the word is spelt without *w* in these two cases.

26. [lar b]w[oy p]ḍa[y] II dlah [th]ar ga[h l]ar ma[nah II kuiw lah bapeñ] (calāñ) [uit II krau. wo'] pḍa[y k]āla [tila nāh Rā]ma-rā[j]ādhira[t ma pa smin gah II pḍay] sak[karāt 798 II gah II tila puīy] c[eti dhāt s]w[ok]
27. [wo' cha] pnah [gañḍi]ñ [ma g]tu[iw' ā cuip latū] ga[h II lak' ā tu]y II [ti]la³ [ñ]ah kwo[m] ku [gnakyāk Nārājadewī] II p[-or sm]iñ Sām̃m Mlām [tu]y [II t]ah sa[mah] .(i)⁴ (p).(n) [t]u[y] ma ku[iw] dak [p]la[n] II
28. (I) da[k plan tuy t]u[y h]e[n II k]ui[w lāk añ]ka[de II khā gah] ceti [gah] swat [s]an [g]ah [t]u[y nū tam pajr]ah [j]nok he[n ma kui[w] da[k lho]m [plan m]way (tuy⁵ ra) [tun II] c[e]ti ma dak lho]m [pl]an ga[h le]r [h]a ga-
29. tā[p tuy] II [tala n]ah Rāma[rā]adh[irāt (ā)⁶ [d]u[n] d[ewat]au [heñ II krau. wo' pḍ]ay [kā]la t[ila' n]ah Ba[nā Bārwor ma h]imu [Jaya]d[dis]arāj[ādhirāt⁸ ma pa smin gah II tila' nāh] kwom ku [g]nakyā[k] Rā(y) [ler II]
30. [salah watthu ma] g[lui]ñ [tuy ku]i[w dak lhom]⁹ II [mi āk tila¹⁰ n]ah [g]nakyā[t¹¹ Wihārade]w[ī]¹² II [kwom ku sm]iñ bui[w Yogarāt ptit darhat heñ II uit som¹³ ḍik skā'] arañ [pariw]ā [m]a n[w]o[m heñ] II jak l-i[t¹⁴ tuy] (ma)¹⁵ [da]-

¹ For *ktuiw*, probably. But the reading is not quite certain.

² Looks like *lāl*.

³ Or *tila*.

⁴ One would expect *ti*, and the letter under the *i* looks like a *t*, but the next one has a *virāma* over it.

⁵ The *u* is very doubtful. Probably the word intended is *thap*.

⁶ Possibly *cau*.

⁷ Or *tila*.

⁸ Or *-ddisa-*

⁹ This looks like *kwom* but seems to be really *lhom*.

¹⁰ Or *tila*.

¹¹ For *gnakyāk*.

¹² For *Wi-*

¹³ Looks like *yām*.

¹⁴ Or *l-uit*.

¹⁵ Probably this is what is meant, though the letter looks a little like *sa*; but it has a stroke in it.

31. [k] II [ma dak gah l]er [ha g]atāp [tuy II tila n]aḥ [Jayaddisara]ja-
[dhir]at¹ [gah ā dūn dewatau II] k[r]au [wwo]² pḍay [k]āla [tī]la³
[ñāḥ Bañā Ken Dau ma *hi]mu Dhamma[tr]ai[lo]kya[n]ātharāja-
dhirāt ma pa smin] (ga)-
32. [h mi āk tala n]aḥ ma [h]i[mu g]naky[āk] Wih[ār]ade[w]i ma ḍa[k
t]uy ma t[u]y II [khā ma t]uy ga[h tala n]aḥ Ba[ñā Ke]n [Dau
ma him]u [Dhammatrai]lo[kya]nā[tha gah ma] ku[iw lāk
aṅk]ad[e] II ma [yok calān II II] (ma)
33. [yok tḍon] II [krau] w[wo' pḍay k]ā[la t]i[la n]aḥ [Ś]r[ī]
Tribhūwa[nādityaprawaradhammatrai]lo[kya]nātha⁴ Mah]a[dham-
ma]rāj[ādhirājadewī II kwom k]u [k]w[o]n t[ī]la⁵ n]aḥ ma
[himu] Rā[m]ādh[ipati]⁶ Śrīpa[ramamahādhammarā]-
34. [jādhirāt ma pa smin gah II w]atth[u ma g]lui[n] l[e]r [kle]' [II
uit suim k]w[om ku] dar[hat bui]w [pnā]n [heñ] II tīla⁶ n]aḥ ḅa
mi ku kwon ā dmān] (tām)⁷ [jōn dhāt swok t]u[y II] ma ku[i]w
[bar jrah II jrah] ma sjo[h san ler]
35. [kuiw] (bar bapēn)⁸ [II duiw ma slun gah l]er k[u]i[w khāy
sat]aḥ [samah II ti bawar⁹ ma bar gah] (mā) [II tma' lwān kalo'
kalo'] (gah II bar reñ) d(un) [tui]n tu[y] (ra) II ma[n]aḥ [ḍeh
ma kuiw dak tuin l-u]i[t¹⁰ II pḍay kāla gah] (mā).
36. [II pajrah mīway] (thap¹⁰ ma) dak du[n ce]tī [gah II p]ḍay [b]ān¹¹
[pajr]aḥ [latū gah] II re[n lar tḍon tma' ma l]ā[k na thar II
akr]ā [tḍon] (kuim k)ui(w)¹² jōn pa[jrah ceti gah II laḥ bapēn]
t[ma]' [l]aḥ II [jōn] pajra[h gah] (mā) [II dak tui]-

¹ For -*rajadhirat*.² Or *tila*.³ For *Tribhūwa-*.⁴ Or *tila*.⁵ Possibly -*pañ*.⁶ Or *tila*.⁷ The reading, though not certain, seems very probable.⁸ Possibly *bawwar*.⁹ Or *l-it*; but the *u* seems pretty definite.¹⁰ Possibly *taw*.¹¹ This, or perhaps *bañ*, seems to be the reading of the text but no such words are recorded in the
ary. P.M.T. has suggested *pañ*, which may have been the word intended.¹² This seems to be the actual reading, though owing to the condition of the stone as shown in the
pression either word might be either *kuim* or *kuiw*.

37. n (batan' gnin)² t]u[y II] „ma [reñ calo]' [s]ñ[i]³ c[ḍau jon] ma [tmu]y tau [na tma' II p]ḍa[y lat]ū [c]etītiyaṅgaṇ(i)⁴ ma twah g]aḥ [pan](nasā)⁵ [ma ñaḥ padaksuīn⁶ gah ler II uit wūduih] (tḍon II)⁷ [laḥ bap]eñ [tma' laḥ pa-uit]
38. [II pḍay ra-uit⁸ pannasā gah tun ler II] (d)a[k ā kambān ma cuiñ dah tau alī]wā[t⁹ ma ñaḥ kan(h)am¹⁰ lar rup pkau dakah II] (p)¹¹ [pḍay ra-uit dacuih]¹² (mway thap) [ra] (tun) [gah II kuiw k]an(d)am¹⁰ [cal(w)o' jrap] (tamliw)¹³ [wūduih]
39. [pa-uit heñ II dacuih g]aḥ panna[sā dak taluih mway thap ra tun] (II) [dacuih gah mway thay¹⁴ ra tun II kuiw dak ca]l[o' kambān wū]duih pa-uit II pḍay kambān gah t]un [ler kuiw tuiw bapeñ] (tnam)¹⁵
40. [brau pa-uit] II [m]aṇaḥ [k]am[b]ā[n gah kuiw] (bar)¹⁶ [sa]taḥ [samah ti gah pa-uit II II II II]

¹ Do: bñful. The initial may be *p*. The final might be *h*, but not if the next word is *gnin*; and it is to be noted that in l. 27 this word is spell *gañḍin*.

² Doubtful but probable.

³ Possibly *ññ*.

⁴ This appears to be the actual reading, though one would expect *celtiyaṅgaṇa*.

⁵ There appears to be a flaw between *pan* and *nasā*, which are separated by a blurred space of the breadth of one *akshara*.

⁶ Or *pa daksuīn*, according to modern Môn usage.

⁷ Extremely doubtful.

⁸ Possibly *ra-il*.

⁹ Or *aliwat*. I take this (whether a compound or two words) to represent the Sanskrit (and Pali) *ālī*, "mound of earth", etc., and *vāṭa*, "enclosure, wall".

¹⁰ As to the reading, cf. l. 8 n.

¹¹ Possibly *pannasā* (as P.M.T.), the matter being complicated by the flaw referred to in connection with the last line.

¹² For *dacuih*.

¹³ The *t* is doubtful and the *liw* may be *liiw*. It is also possible that the final *w* may be an error for *ñ*.

¹⁴ Or possibly *thah*; in either case an error for *thap*.

¹⁵ Fairly certain, though the final letter is illegible.

¹⁶ Extremely doubtful.

A

Translation.

..... having made a resolution¹ at the feet of the exalted Buddha
 Dipaṅkara (2)² having been fulfilled in due order, the
 conditions of supreme enlightenment to attain³ (very?)
 (3) beneath the Bodhi fig-tree with the intention of victory,
 remained sitting. The host of the deva Māra (undertook?) (4) *MANA*
 to wit, omniscience that is adorned with the (state?)⁴ of an
 assemblage of virtues (without?) (5) (the status?) of a
 Buddha. Having attained Buddhahood, (he) enjoyed the bliss of emancipa-
 tion, (seated crosslegged?)⁵ by the Bodhi throne⁶ for seven days
 (6)⁷ the exalted Buddha had not been able to rise (from the
 throne?) saying that⁸ which usually confer Buddhahood
 (were?) not yet (present?), doubts arose⁹ (7) (for full eight¹⁰
 days?) (the exalted Buddha?) in order to dispel the doubts
 of the devas, floated up to the sky (8) (having dispelled?) the
 doubts of the devas, (from the throne?)¹¹ descended and remained
 for seven days (with eyes?)¹² (9) the throne and the Bodhi
 fig-tree upon an ambulatory to the west for (seven?) days
 (10) to the west of the ambulatory¹³ the exalted
 Buddha meditated (11) (for) four weeks (in?) *four weeks*
 (near the Bodhi tree?) the Ajapāla fig-tree. By
 the (Ajapāla) fig-tree (12) (was) (the)

¹ Namely to become a Buddha.

² The qualities essential to perfection must be understood here.

³ Supply something like "the status of a Buddha".

⁴ Reading *tradaḥ*; *trawah* would mean "a saying".

⁵ The reading is doubtful.

⁶ The authorities differ as to whether at this moment Buddha was still on the throne (Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 200; or had already descended from it (Bigandet, I 99). See I. 6 and also § 90, note.

⁷ Perhaps supply "seeing that".

⁸ Supply "the qualities", or the like.

⁹ In the minds of the devas. Cf. XIV 3-8.

¹⁰ This appears to be the reading. One would expect "seven".

¹¹ Here probably followed a statement of the direction and distance Buddha went, viz: north-east, ten fathoms. (Bigandet l.c.)

¹² Probably supply "not blinking". Cf. XIV 2-3.

¹³ This refers to the "house of gems", of the fourth week.

Mucalinda (tree ?) which was towards (13) (he) remained. After that . . . (14) (he) enjoyed the bliss of emancipation and remained (there) obtained the status of a Buddha (15) (the exalted Buddha was not able) to attend to his personal needs, (did not ?) food. With¹ mystic contemplation (16) (remained ?)

At the end of the (forty-nine ?) days² (desire to eat ?) (the exalted Buddha ?) . . . At that time King Indra (17) (to give to ?) the exalted Buddha . . . (the exalted Buddha ?) together with (18) King Indra. The exalted Buddha Taphussa (and) Bhallika . . (19) . . . the city of Asitāñjana³ (having crossed ?)⁴ the ocean (20) (rested ?) on the bank of the river⁵ (21) towards the south (they ?) (in ?) (22) (my children ?)⁶ (24) (pulled the carts ?) (25) (having ?) (self) (26) that the (Rājāyatana ?)⁷ tree (27) (that ?) (I ?) gift of alms (28) (they ?) (29) (having ?) (water ?), merit (30) (one ?) the exalted Buddha (31) to the exalted Buddha (32) (path ?), among those (who were on the way to attain ?) (33) . . . they, (having passed through the states of devas and men, in the time of the exalted Buddha ?) sons (of a leading merchant ?)⁸ (34) (to) give a gift of alms to the exalted Buddha (among ?) (they ?) (35) . . . (having ?) . . . they approached near to the exalted Buddha "My lord the exalted (36) Buddha grant that we may give (thee thy) food first !"

. they (37) having passed through (the states of devas and men ?), in the time of the exalted Buddha (having

¹ P.M.T. inserts "the bliss of".

² Or "of the day" (viz : the 49th).

³ Where the brothers dwelt.

⁴ Conjectural.

⁵ The Nerañjara, according to the Burmese version, cf. XIII A 22.

⁶ This is presumably a part of the thoughts or speech of the earth spirit, who had in one of their previous incarnations been the mother of the two brothers and who stopped their carts in order that they should minister to Buddha.

⁷ Conjectural. Cf. XIII B 1.

⁸ Conjectural.

Source Anguttara
Commentary.
Ch. 6th. ct.

been ?) children for (many ?) years (38) (they ?) had been giving gifts to monks of the Order. (Before our Bodhisattva ?)
 had the name (of Pokkharavati ?)¹ . . (39) they came into existence as the sons of a rich man who was a leading merchant (the two² 2 Brothers
 of them) who remained in At (the fitting time ?), (40) together with 500 carts
 five hundred merchants,³ (having gone on board ship and crossed ?) the ocean, (they arrived ?) (having fully loaded five hundred carts⁴
 with goods they ?) became merchants, (and) they (41) (roamed about ?). Having thus made (their) prayer, in (instructed⁵ them ?). At
 that time Taphussa (and) Bhallika, the two, (42) the elder and the younger brother, heard (the words ?) which the deva spoke, and being glad at
 heart, (from their cart they ?)⁶ very (long ?) . . . dry rice cakes and cakes (43) butter rolls also (they) laid out
 . . (the exalted Buddha ?) "exalted Buddha, that we may (obtain happiness ?) (44) may my lord accept our gift." Thus did they
 speak (to the exalted Buddha ?). And there arose in the mind of the exalted Buddha this thought: "The almsbowl that the Mahābrahma
 Ghaṭikāra (45) (gave me on ?) the bank of the river Anoma (wherein I received the milk rice of Sujātā ?)⁶ None of the
 Buddhas of old received on their hands (46) the alms of those who gave (them) gifts . . On what⁷ thing the alms that Tapussa (and) Bhallika give me?" Such was the thought (47) that arose in the mind
 of the exalted Buddha. At that moment the four Catumahārāja kings⁸ (being aware of ?) the thought (of the exalted Buddha ?)
 to the exalted Buddha. And the exalted Buddha, in order to confer (48) great merit on the four Catumahārāja kings, (accepted all ?) the
 four almsbowls (and) made them into one almsbowl. In

¹ Apparently another name for the Asītañjana of l. 19.

² Literally "sons of trade".

³ According to the story there were five hundred carts, but the reading of the text is extremely doubtful.

⁴ As appears from the following line it was the earth spirit (referred to in l. 22, n.) who instructed them.

⁵ Presumably "descended", but the text is illegible here.

⁶ The last word is very doubtful. The vessels referred to were no longer available. Cf. XIII A 17-19.

⁷ This is rather a rendering of the alternative reading *mā rau*. With *yarau*, which seems to be the reading of the text, the meaning would probably be "whenever" (or "if") "on a thing". At the end of the long gap that follows one must supply "shall I receive".

⁸ The guardians of the four quarters of the world.

this almsbowl of the exalted Buddha (40) the two of them, the elder and the younger brother, put the dry rice cakes at the time the exalted Buddha (50) . . . : water . . . they brought (and) gave to the exalted Buddha (them. Then the exalted Buddha?) (51) expounded the Law to them (52) thus did the two of them (speak: "Exalted Buddha"?)

no mention
of PRESENTING
HAIR RELICS
cf. Burmese
text

B

. (that) they might worship (them while) travelling.¹ At that time, (perceiving that?)² they were negligent, a king of the Nāgas, named Jayasena, who dwelt in the Bhūmindhara (Nāga world?)³ (2) because the two men had been negligent, took (the hair relics and) carried (them) down to their⁴ own country (and worshipped them?). At a later time (time?) (3)⁵ desiring to build a caitya (and) having had a relic chamber made and also having had an image of Buddha made, placed the frontlet on the forehead of the image of Buddha (4) the king, wishing also to place the hair relics of the exalted Buddha, made the Thera Cūlapiṇḍapātikatissa responsible for procuring⁶ the hair relics. (The Thera) Cūlapiṇḍapātikatissa⁷ (5) named Sivathera (and) caused (him) to go down (and) get the hair relics that the Nāga king Jayasena had gone (and) placed in the Bhūmindhara (Naga world?)⁸ this Sivathera went down to the Nāga king. The Nāga king (6) to get the relics,⁹ the Nāga king, having

¹ The meaning is not quite certain. But the Burmese inscription explains that Tapussa and Bhallik enshrined six of the eight hairs given them by Buddha but kept the other two for private veneration. These were the ones stolen by the Nāga king. The others are referred to in l. 12.

² Conjecturally supplied.

³ The words in parenthesis are conjectural but fairly certain. The Pali *Nalāṭadhātuvāṇisa* uses the expression (in the form *bhūmidhara*) in the sense of the Nāgas supporting or bearing up the earth. Before I saw this text I took it for a mis-spelling of *bhūmintara*, in the sense of "the interior of the earth", which would be equally appropriate.

⁴ That is, the Nāgas' country. But the reading of this passage is not quite certain.

⁵ Somewhere in the preceding passage must have come the king's name (see l. 7), and description. The Burmese inscription locates him in Ceylon.

⁶ The reading is not quite certain. Literally "cause to bring."

⁷ Here there must have been a statement that the monk mentioned in the next line was a pupil of Cūlapiṇḍapātikatissa, and perhaps that the latter summoned him, as in the Burmese version.

⁸ Cf. l. 1.

⁹ Probably these words were preceded by some statement that the Nāga king was aware of the monk's purpose in visiting him.

swallowed the relics (and) the reliquary, (said) "The relics are not with me. (If) my lord sees (them, let) my lord take (them)".¹ Thus the Nāga king spake² (7) having obtained permission³ from the Nāga king (three times⁴ and) having by magic power taken the hair relics, gave (them) to King Kākavaṇṇatissa. And King Kākavaṇṇatissa, having (8) (and) having put (them) on the head of the image of Buddha, (and) having enshrined the image of Buddha in a relic chamber, (caused ?)

The two (brothers) Tapussa (and) Bhallika, the elder and the younger brother,⁵ (9) dwelt in the Jetavana monastery (and) the exalted Buddha set all the (lay) disciples in (their due) order, among those who went for refuge⁶ in (that ?) place⁷ (10) (he) set. After that, when the exalted Buddha dwelt at Rājagriha, these (two again ?) went one (day ? and) having approached the presence of the exalted Buddha (and) made reverence, in (that place ?) (11) sat down (and) remained (seated). The exalted Buddha preached the Law to them. Tapussa attained the fruit of conversion,⁸ (he entered the number of ?)⁹ the lay disciples (and) remained (in that status). But Bhallika having become a monk and developed spiritual insight, (attained ?) (12) was named Bhallikathera. Tapussa, on the other hand, having returned again to the town of Asitāñjana, in the caitya where they had enshrined the hair relics . . . on the top of the Tambagutta¹⁰ hill fulfilled (13) (his religious) duties, and after dwelling (there) for the term of his life passed away from there and came into existence in the heavenly city.

(As for) the caitya of the hair relics, those who were aware of the benefits¹¹ (of its observance ?)¹² continually venerated (and) worshipped it.

¹ Literally "my Lord see" (or "look"), "my lord take", both verbs being in the imperative.

² Here the monk Sivathera must have been mentioned or referred to again.

³ Or "consent", "promise".

⁴ The Nalāṇḍiādhātuvāṇsa here speaks of a thrice repeated promise or consent. ←

⁵ From the Burmese version it is plain that the preceding gap contained a statement that it was Buddha who was dwelling in the Jetavana monastery at this time.

⁶ In the technical Buddhist sense, i.e. in Buddha, the Law and the Order.

⁷ From the Burmese version it appears that the two brothers obtained first place among the first disciples.

⁸ The word contains a metaphorical reference to entering into the "stream", i.e. the Buddhist path of holiness.

⁹ Very doubtful.

¹⁰ See the note on the text.

¹¹ That is, primarily, "spiritual benefits".

¹² Very doubtful.

✓ Later on, the succession of those, who were aware of the benefits¹ of the hair relics (14) of the exalted Buddha, having been broken, and because in this Môn country the religion had not been (firmly) established, people knew not (the caitya of ?) the hair relics and they could not venerate (and) worship (it). Because they could not (15) venerate (and) worship (it), on the land of the caitya such things as trees, jungle creepers, grass and rubbish had sprung up, (and had become ?)² a forest (concealing it ?)³, people were not aware of its site. From the year of the exalted Buddha's (16) achieving parinirvāna two hundred and thirty-six years had elapsed, (when) our lords the two arhats named Sonathera and Uttarathera came (and) established the religion in the country of Suvaṇṇabhum.⁴ When the religion had been established (and) when there were monks, (17) nuns, male novices, and female novices, then King Sirimāsoka said to the two arhats, "O my lords, the gem of the Law and the gem of the Order are we able to venerate (and) worship, (18) (but) the gem of the Buddha, (though) we desire to venerate (and) worship (it), we cannot.⁵ A relic of the exalted Buddha, that we may set our minds (at rest upon), a gem of the Buddha that we can venerate, worship (and) adore, let my lords provide for us!". Thus did the king make (his) petition to our lords. Then our lords the two Mahātheras showed to King Sirimāsoka the caitya of the hair relics of the exalted Buddha that Tapussa and Bhallika had enshrined⁶ on the top (20) of the Tambagutta⁷ hill, which the forest bushes⁸ had covered (and) concealed, and people did not know (its) site. Then King Sirimāsoka had the forest bushes⁹ cleared away (21) and also caused the caitya and the prāsāda (which was also ?)¹⁰ the cetiya¹¹ to be built up and offered¹² (them). From that time also all the people who dwelt in this Môn country in due course¹³ kept coming and worshipping (it).

¹ That is, primarily, "spiritual benefits".

² Very doubtful.

³ Suvaṇṇabhūmi is here identified with Lower Burma. The name has also been claimed by other parts of Indo-China.

⁴ Or, possibly, "have not (got)". Here follows in the text an illegible word of one syllable which may either have added to the sense or been a mere particle.

⁵ Or "set up", the object then being the caitya.

⁶ Cf. l. 12 n.

⁷ Or, "bushes (and) forest".

⁸ The reading is doubtful, especially as regards "also". For the rest, cf. l. 24.

⁹ Or "worshipped".

¹⁰ That is, at the appropriate seasons.

SONA

(22) Later on the kings that possessed faith who were lords of the Môn country, determining that this *cetiyaghara* should be permanent, the *cetiyaghara* having been severed *asunder*,¹ encased and enlarged (the sides of the caitya ?)² (23) successively and this caitya became a great caitya. This venerable caitya³ of the hair relics of the exalted Buddha enshrined⁴ by Tapussa (and) Bhallika on the top of the *Tambagutta*⁵ hill, at the time (24) when His Majesty the Lord of the White Elephant, named, *Dhammatrailokyanātharājādhirāt*, was king, the *prasada* which was the *cetiyaghara*, having been severed *asunder*,⁶ was encased (and) enlarged⁷ (by him and) when encased was 40 cubits (25) high. Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Sutasomarājādhirāt was king, (he) caused it to be encased (and) enlarged again, and when it had been encased (and) enlarged (he) erected . . .⁸ the spire (and) set up the umbrella (and) putting a layer of copper (26) within (and) putting a layer of gold outside (he) had the whole of the spire fully overlaid. Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Rāmarājādhirāt was king, in the year 798 of the Common Era,⁹ this venerable caitya¹⁰ of the hair relics, (27) (so far as) all that had been raised from the shoulder of the bell upwards¹¹ (is concerned) having collapsed, His Majesty together with (his) queen Nārājadevī ordered Prince *Sāṃm Mlām* to level and have (it) built up again (28). When (it) had been built up again (they) had it *plastered*. Then, saying that the caitya was very¹² small, from the large plinth (upwards they) had it rebuilt (and) encased once more. The rebuilding (and) encasing of the caitya had not been completed (29) when¹³ His Majesty Rāmarājādhirāt

70 cubits

798
638
1436

mon?

¹ The sense is doubtful, the word *caḍah* primarily means "apart from, to be separated from". It is not clear whether the destruction (if it is that) was accidental or an intentional part of the scheme of enlarging the caitya. The phrase recurs in l. 24.

² Doubtful reading.

³ Literally "our lord this caitya".

⁴ Cf. l. 19 n.

⁵ Cf. l. 12 n.

⁶ Cf. l. 22 n.

⁷ To preserve the order of the original these verbs have been turned into the passive.

⁸ Here there is a small illegible word.

⁹ A.D. 1436-7.

¹⁰ Cf. l. 23 n.

¹¹ This seems to be the meaning, though it might conceivably be rendered "having only been raised up as far as the shoulder of the bell." In view of ll. 25-6, this interpretation does not seem to be acceptable. By "bell" is meant the bell-shaped body of the pagoda.

¹² Or "too."

¹³ The word *gatāp* means "to be in time."

departed to the city of the devas, Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Bañā Bārwor, styled Jayaddisarājādhirāt was king, His Majesty together with (his) queen Ray, (30) having given many offerings, had (it) built up (and) encased. His Majesty's mother, the Queen Vihārādevī, together with (Yogarāt), the commander-in-chief of the army, exerted themselves: all the slaves, followers (and) retainers that there were (they) led forth to build (31) but the building had not been completed when¹ His Majesty Jayaddisarājādhirāt departed to the city of the devas. Thereafter, at the time when His Majesty Bañā Ken Dau, styled Dhammatrailokyanātharājādhirāt, was king, what His Majesty's mother named Queen Vihārādevī had built was finished. When it had been finished His Majesty Bañā Ken Dau, styled Dhammatrailokyanātha, had it plastered, erected the spire (and) (33) set up the umbrella. Thereafter, at the time when Her Majesty Śrī Tribhuwanādityaprabavaradhammatrailokyanātha Mahādhammarājādhirājādevī together with her son named Rāmādhīpati Śrī Paramamahādhammarājādhirāt² were rulers, (they made) many offerings together with all the forces of their army. Their Majesties, mother and son, having gone to dwell at the foot of the hair relics, had the hollows (of the ground) filled up, hollows that were very deep (35) (they) caused to be entirely filled up, high mounds (they) caused to be dug (and) levelled, (on) the earth which was filled in (they) piled up blocks of laterite stone and outside (it) they had it all faced. Then (36) (on) the first³ plinth supporting the caitya, on the upper⁴ of the plinth, (they) arranged stone umbrellas overlaid with gold, and between the umbrellas (they) had the foot⁵ of the plinth of the caitya paved throughout with flat stones, (and) having (on) the foot⁵ of this plinth built (37) up⁶ the bell⁷ (they) arranged standing lanterns made of stone,⁸ (and) on the top of the cetiyaṅgana,⁹ what is termed a pannasā¹⁰ for people to go round, (and) outside (the

¹ See I. 29 n.

² This is the celebrated king, more commonly known as Dhammaceti, who probably had this inscription set up. The queen just mentioned was his mother-in-law.

³ This appears to be the top storey of the several storeys leading up to the actual pagoda.

⁴ The reading and meaning are doubtful.

⁵ This really must be the surface from the context.

⁶ Doubtful reading.

⁷ Doubtful reading. See the note on the text.

⁸ Or, perhaps, "adorned with (precious) stones."

⁹ The area surrounding the caitya. See the note on the text.

¹⁰ Doubtful reading. The word should mean a "hermitage." Literally "leaf hut."

umbrellas ?, they) laid down flat stones throughout; (38) at the end of the *pannasa* (they) built a wall, with an earthwork, whereon (they) made lotus patterns at the end of (one ?) lower level (they) had permanent *zayats*¹ built all around. (39) On that level (they) built the *pannasa* (apart ?)² on one level, (and) on the next (lower they) had a wall built all around it. Within the wall (they) had (40) coconut palms planted throughout. Outside the wall (they) had the ground levelled throughout.

¹ "Rest houses." The word may be in the singular.

² Doubtful.

p 20 originally 56 lines on this reverse face

No. XVI.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE YATHEMYO MONASTERY, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

95. This inscription is engraved on one face of a stone of which about a fifth has been broken off and was not available. The dimensions of the inscribed area are as follows : height, 2 ft. 1½ in., breadth, 3 ft. 5 in. The letters are ⅜ in. high and letter *t* is ⅝ in. long. The inter-linear space is about ½ in. Except in places where it has been damaged, the writing is clear.

96. The inscription commemorates the founding by King Dhammaceti of a large monastery, the Mahārāmavihāra. It is noticeable that the first date given (in l. 1) is 819 of the Common Era (=A.D. 1457-8), a year earlier than the first date referring to this king in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions. This was, apparently, the time when a beginning was made with the erection of the monastery, the dimensions of which are given in some detail, though unfortunately a good deal of this description is lost. In the year 823 most of the work had been completed and on the 10th of the waxing half of Vaiśākha in 824, after all was ready, the monks were invited to enter into occupation, to the number of 17,174 all told. The remainder of the record gives particulars of the king's bounty towards the monks, whom he provided with large quantities of necessities, the details of which are of some interest. Some of these agree with similar gifts mentioned in various parts of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions to which reference is made in the notes on ll. 20, 21.

check if
identical,
the
some
donation

Text.

1. [pa]rinibbān gah [2001] cñām kuli lo[n] a tuy heñ II
pḍay sakkarāt 819 tila naḥ [smiñ dhar] (Rāmadhipati-Srīparama-
mahādha)-

2. (mmarājādhirat)¹
 . . suim bed ma lhin tau pday sabguiw sā[sanā kyak]² tray I ma
 pkañ rañ tau kramin brabwēy³ dhar gah I ma
 . [Mahārāma]wiha[r]
3. (ma)
 [kar gah I ma] kuiw yok dayon Ma[hārāmawihār] I pa tam nū
 [gah k]uim ra I (kā nā⁴ kuim) lar I kā [l-it lwān kuim] (lar I)
 b[woy ramen] . .
4. h na
 ha[t p]akati ma twah bgah hat basa[y I ja]li[n 38] hat I janok
 34 hat I saluñ 33 hat I [tmit] (muk) pan tal[uih]
5. [32]⁵ hat
 I jalin 38 hat II wihā tawī clat Jetawa[n] 26 ga[h] l[e]r suim ku
 m canor heñ I wihā [mway mway gah jalin 32]
6. (hat)⁶ (tal)uih⁶ II
 [no⁷ wi]hā [j]nok I bwoy duih esān gah I clat cañkrañ bwoy⁸
 I [jalin 64 ha]t I jano[k] . . [hat I saluñ] . . [hat I bā talui]-
7. (h)⁹ (jra)y⁹ bodhi
 mwoy I cetī ler mwoy II clat upuh gah I jalin 38 hat I [janok]
 (1)9 [h]at I sa[luñ 23] ha[t I] cetī (ta') clāñ jon cetī
8. [jno]k
 bw[o]y dui[h] smar kyā mañah kambā[n] wihā g]ah I [k] . . .
 (1) . . . [ca mwoy 30 mañlañ] caturah [I layoh I] (8) [hat] I
 dapah taluih I ui[t]
9. (bwo)y¹⁰ ramen
 klon ā tau tuy II p[d]ay sakka[r]at [823 gah] uit kā ta[ḥui]ñ
 ka[mbāñ] (le)r [tuy] uit I ma pa [tam ku]

¹ Conjecturally restored. Cf. XVII 2.

² Error for *kyak*.

³ Error for *brabwoy*.

⁴ Possibly *ra*, or *cha*.

⁵ Possibly 33.

⁶ Conjecturally restored.

⁷ For *nor*.

⁸ Error for *mwoy*.

⁹ Conjecturally restored.

¹⁰ Conjecturally restored.

10. n I ta
gah tuy uit heñ ra II [a]khā kā wihā ma tu[y gah] I aci areñ
ma sbala[h wihā gah s]miñ-dhar [tala ciñ]
11. (batān)¹ w[ih]ar²
[gah] I [k]uiw [ñ]aḥ taḥ samah saman tuy I ruñ jamliñ ma
gluiñ [ku] cnor [ñan]³ gah kanam [tuy] I swa[k acā] sañ jamnok
I
12. y I
tade' I bwoy athu[i]k atan gah salam kana(rn)m lor na batā[n]
tanāy I kwa[k] l[o]r [na] janik I da(pah)⁴ [thap I]
13. [sa]ñ
samat to' gamluiñ [tu]n ler I kuttī mway la[k masun l]ñim
dapah klam pan cwoh paray gah I ma pa tam [ku] da[ka]r dñi
14. (I pḍay) [sa]-
kkarāt 824 kitu basāk [cah] bramāk ga[h I ti]la ñaḥ smiñ dhar
ti[la] ciñ batān het [ma sa]d[dhā] pḍa[y] ra[t p]i
15. (p) . n . (k)
. . . Mahārāmawihār tuy I sañ ma dah gāmawā[s]ī arañawāsī
I ma nwom bnat galuiñ dlam⁵ I kuttī ta gah I ku[i]w wā[ñ
p]lop [damān]
16. (kuttī ta)⁶ [gah] ra II lukau dacām tñe[y] (he)ñ
I na piṇḍapātapaccay ma nom tau ku rah ma pray ma twah
pgah I khā[d]aniya bhojaniya ga[h ta]ruip tau [ku] (kāla)
17. [mway mway tñe]y heñ watthu ḃā (lñim)
. . .⁷ klam masun basā I dacām tñay heñ watthu [mway] lak
[d]apah lñim d[acā]m [c]woh pi basā I watthu ma n[wo]m bnat
ga-

¹ Conjecturally restored.² There is no *virāma* visible.³ Or *san*.⁴ This looks like *damuh* or *dapuh*, but the additional strokes may be accidental.⁵ Looks like *dlam*.⁶ Conjecturally restored.⁷ It is doubtful if there was a word here. If so, it must have been *ḃa* or *pi*.

18. (luiñ)¹ [wo'] ma pru preñ [ɲɪ̃d̪ap̪at̪apaccay] I gilānapaccay [ta] gah I ra-it ma phāp dacām tñay tu[y gah] I tila ñaḥ smin̄ [dh]ar tala [ci]ñ ba[t]āñ [gāh] I day[y]adhar lak[khañ]ada[n]awat- [thu]
19. [ma pa] tañ [tñay] [dacām ma twah pga]ḥ bray j[mū g]ah I bgū tau ku [t]ila sañ to' ga[m]luiñ tun II pḍay [sañ] m[w]ay lak dapah l[ñ]im klañ [dapah c]woh pan gah I [cā² s]añ jamnok (I) ta(ḍay)³
20. . . .⁴ [lñim dapah klañ ḥā cwoh] gah I [suim] suim ku krayā dlar̄ [k]wo[m] ku [p]ari[k]kharā dacām I saṅgā gah yā[t sn]ā bāp [l]ñim [dapah] klañ [ḥā cw]oh mre[k gamih] pan lñim masun [k]lañ pi [basā]
21. (I) [mrek galā ḥā lak pan] lñim turau klañ [ḥ]ā cwoh [b]asā I [a]pañ⁵ ḥā rā ḥā [l]ak daci[t] lñim klañ ḥā cwoh pi [b]asā I [sat basiw daci]t klañ pa[n] cwoh dacām kḍoñ I [kwom pha]-
22. (lā suim bī gapuiw pañāk sat)⁶ [ḥun sablu] me[k sut] I para[n] kā sui]m camb[ā]y I hañ rā [sui]m paṅgā[n] cwa I [kamm]ali I [ḥu]n kneh brakuih I (mamar jraṅaṅ)⁷ k(w)uiw . [r] . . . (n) . [r] . (ta)rāy⁸ I ḥ[u]n kṣā (I) na (tañ)⁹
23. mye[k] (c)e(n) I [kleñ ka-uy I kleñ lañau] I tlāk pamat I basay pamat I juk st[e]ñ I sakep dun I dako' sa[t I] tamah I pareh [I nuñ] (d) . . . [suim joñ] I nuñ sw(un) [k I pa]ye I (t)am-ot

¹ Conjectural, but cf. l. 15, *supra*.

² For *acā*.

³ The *ḍ* is shaped rather like the numeral 3.

⁴ Looks like *thane'* but the *th* might be *k*, *t*, or *l* and the *u* might be *r*.

⁵ For *apañ*.

⁶ Except the last two words which are practically certain, this is conjecturally restored from the parallel passages referred to in the notes to ll. 20, 21 of the translation.

⁷ Very doubtful reading; the first word is quite uncertain, except the initial letter, and in the second the *g* might be *dh*.

⁸ Very uncertain. A conceivable reading is *braba ray* the former representing the modern *baba* (pepē), some sort of knife, and the latter *raḍi* (=rai) "mustard plant, radish"; *tarāy* might mean lower bud", which does not seem appropriate.

⁹ Or *ham*.

24. (bwoy)¹ [ma ɔ̃]k peñ san
 heñ I tila ciñ ba[t]aṇ ma cīreñ kuiw dān I mañah nū [gah] I
 sañ [s]ama[t] ma nwo[m ɔ̃nat] mwa[y l]ak [masun lñi]m [kl]am
 masun cwoh-pan² ta
25. [gah tun] (ler) [parikkharā] (dacām I)³ [ma pa tañ k]u da[k]a[r
 dnī [l]er I [mw]ay lak masun lñim pan klañ masun cwoh
 [p]an gah I [m]rek mway lak masun l[nim dapah] kla[m pi
 cwo]h sun⁴
26. ba[sā I sat lñim] pa[n klañ dapah cwoh] pi kḍoñ II II a[pā]ñ
 sañ pa-uit mwa[y] lak dapah lñim klañ dapah cwo[h pa]n I
 a[pāñ] mr[ek] ḥa [l]ak da[pah] lñ[im dapah] kla[m]
27. pan [cwoh turau] basā [II apāñ sat ḥa lñim] pa[n kl]aṇ [ḥa]
 cwo[h] m[w]ay kḍoñ I [sāk w]o' heñ smin dha[r ti]la ciñ
 ba[tāñ] tam[o' sabbañutañān tuy lon watthu dayyadhar] ma
 [twah]
28. [pgaḥ bray jmū gah] (I) [bgū tau ku sañ ta'] gamluñ heñ [ra II]
 (II)

Translation.

. 2001 years having elapsed (after the exalted Buddha had achieved) Parinirvāna, in 819 of the Common Era⁵ His Majesty the King of the Law (Rāmādhpati Śrīparamamahādha(2)-mmarājādhirāt)⁶ together with the Vedas,⁷ who delights in causing the religion of the exalted Buddha to shine, who wields sovereignty in accordance with the Law, who the Mahārāmaṇihāra (3) the , who caused the pillars of the Mahārāmaṇihāra to be set up. From thenceforward, (at) the

¹ Conjecturally restored.

² The *h* seems to be superscript over the *p*.

³ Practically certain.

⁴ For *masun*.

⁵ 1457-8 A.D.

⁶ The reading of the name is practically certain to the end of l. 1; the rest has been conjecturally restored. The king is Dhammaceti, and the date is a year earlier than the earliest date referring to him in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions (cf. XII B 32 and the commentary in § 81).

⁷ This may refer to the Buddhist Canon (cf. XII B 33n. and XVII 2).

time (of)¹ and at the end² in due order . . . (4) . . .
 with *pakati*³ cubits, that is to say iron cubits,⁴ (in) length 38
 cubits, (in) size⁵ 34 cubits, (in) height 33 cubits, (the)⁶ (of the)
 (sides was ?) four *taluih*⁷ (5) 32⁸ cubits, (in) length
 38 cubits. The vihāras surrounding⁹ the central hall of the Jetavana
 (were) 26, together with row(s); each vihāra was 32 (cubits)
 long (6) *taluih* (?)¹⁰ From the great vihāra, towards
 the North East, an ambulatory hall, (in) length 64 cubits, (in) size¹¹ . . .
 cubits, in height . . cubits, two *taluih*¹² (7) a Bodhi tree, a
 caitya also. The uposatha¹³ hall (was) (in) length 38 cubits, (in) size¹⁴ 19
 cubits, (in) height 23 cubits. The caitya(s), (from ?) the spire (to ?) the foot
 of the caitya(s) (8) great towards the South,
 outside the wall of the vihāra, a (tank ?)¹⁵ 30 *mailam*¹⁶ square, (in)
 depth 8 cubits, seven *taluih*,¹⁷ all (9) (in) succession
 having gone on working,¹⁸ in 823¹⁹ of the Common Era all the work on the
 moat and wall was quite finished. Beginning with (10) the
 were all finished. When the work²⁰ on the vihāra was finished,
 arrangements for the ceremonial opening of the vihāra (were made by ?)²¹
 the King of the Law, the Lord of the (White)²¹ Elephant, (11)

che

ambulatory
hall

¹ Reading and meaning doubtful.

² The meaning of *luān* has not been determined. Perhaps it is an error for *luon*.

³ I. e. "standard"; literally, "original, natural".

⁴ This is probably the Môn equivalent, in sense, to the expression *sām dān*, another name for the standard cubit (19½ inches) and points to a Burmese origin of the latter term, the first half of which closely resembles the Burmese word for "iron".

⁵ Presumably this means "width, breadth".

⁶ The meaning of *mil* has not been determined. Possibly it may be from *lit*, "to come out" and refer to something jutting out.

⁷ The reading *muk*, "face, side", is nearly certain; *taluih* seems to be a unit of measurement. Cf. II. 6, 8, *infra*. It is difficult to connect it with Sanskrit and Pali *tala*, "span, palm of hand, sole of foot".

⁸ The second number is not quite certain. It may be 3.

⁹ Or "dependent on".

¹⁰ See note ⁷ *supra*.

¹¹ See note ⁵ *supra*.

¹² See note ⁷ *supra*.

¹³ A Buddhist religious service.

¹⁴ See note ⁵ *supra*.

¹⁵ Assuming *luca*, with a flaw between *l* and *c*.

¹⁶ One *mailam* = 7 cubits.

¹⁷ See note ⁷ *supra*.

¹⁸ Or perhaps "the works having been carried on in due order".

¹⁹ 1461-2 A.D.

²⁰ The word *kā* at this period was used also for *kāla*, "time" but I think it may here refer to *kāra*.

²¹ Conjecturally restored.

cubit 19½

..... the vihāra; having caused¹ it to be cleared and levelled evenly (and) made long sheds in many rows near to it¹ for the leading teachers of the Order, (12)² in the customary manner draped³ (them) with embroidered canopies,⁴ (and) hung (them) with curtains, sevenfold, (13) (for) the minor clergy also, fifteen thousand seven hundred and forty cells, and more, beginning with mats, pillows, (14) (in) 824 of the Common Era, the DATE tenth of the waxing (half) of the month of Vaiśākha, His Majesty the King of the Law, the Lord of the White Elephant, because (he was) — faithful to the Three Gems (15) having (completed) the Mahārāma vihāra, caused the clergy who dwelt in villages and in the forest, in accordance with the number of the rooms (and) cells (available), to be inducted into (their) dwellings (16) (the cells?). During eight days with food requisites that were of excellent flavour, that is to say, hard foods (and) soft foods, (he) fed (them) at (the proper) times⁵ (17) every day offerings (amounting to) two (thousand)⁶ ... hundred⁷ and five viss,⁸ (in) eight days offerings (amounting to) seventeen thousand eighty-three viss,⁹ offerings to (18) this (amount?)⁹ were prepared, food requisites (and) medical requisites. At the end of this entertaining for eight days, His Majesty the King of the Law, Lord of the White Elephant, (made) donations of auspicious offerings (19) beginning with the eight days, (he) poured down, as it were, a heavy rain upon the lords of the clergy. Among the seventeen thousand seven hundred and seventy-four clergy, (for) the leading teachers (among) the clergy,¹⁰ (20)¹⁰ a thousand seven hundred and twenty, together with all the furnishings of the rooms and the eight

¹ Or, it *san* is to be read for *nān*, "made the long sheds in very many rows for", etc.

² The meaning of *lade* is undetermined.

³ Literally, "dressed".

⁴ The meaning is not quite certain; for *batān*, cf. VIII A 15, 18; *landy* is probably the *finlay* of VIII A 18 and the modern *taṇḍai*, *tudai* (pronounced *tanai*), "tracery, ornamentation, floral design, carving".

⁵ Possibly "at those times" (reading *gah* after *kāla*).

⁶ Practically certain restoration.

⁷ Either a hundred or two or three hundred.

⁸ It is difficult to reconcile these two figures.

⁹ Fairly certain restoration.

¹⁰ The reading and meaning are doubtful: *taṇḍai* may be "middle", and perhaps "intermediate", but the word at the beginning of l. 20 is unidentified. Perhaps it indicates some degree of rank among these 1720 higher clergy.

appurtenances, a thousand seven hundred and twenty robes and cloth mats,¹ four thousand five hundred and three viss of black pepper, (21) twenty-four thousand six hundred and twenty viss of Indian pepper; total of the two items, twenty-nine thousand one hundred and twenty-three viss; nine hundred and forty-eight barrels of *basiw* areca-nuts,² boxes for areca-nuts,³ (22) together with bottles of lime, areca-nut slicers, knives for betel leaf, napkins,⁴⁵ with slings⁶ and bowls,⁷ woollen cloth,⁸ knives and styles (for writing) books,⁹¹⁰ (23) eye medicine,¹¹ medicinal oil, sesamum oil, lanterns, fire steels,¹² stretched cords,¹³ bamboo tongs, areca-nut cases,¹⁴ brooms, baskets, . . .¹⁵ waterpots with stands,¹⁶ drinking pots,¹⁷ portable stoves, . . .¹⁸ (24) (for ?) very complete.¹⁹ The Lord of the White Elephant arranged to give gifts, besides these, (to) the minor

¹ Or "clothes (and) mats". Cf. XII F 46, H 38, M 27 and N (conclusion, after l. 28). It is to be noted however that the Pali version of the first two passages speaks only of "cloths for *ticivara* robes", not mats at all. See XII H 39, trans. n.

² Cf. XII N (conclusion after l. 28). The word *sat* also means fruit in general but the meaning is determined by the 948 barrels here, added to the 1473 in l. 26, making the total of 2421 barrels of areca-nuts in l. 27.

³ The rendering is doubtful, as it depends entirely on the Pali version of XII H 38. See XII H 39 trans. n. and the passages there cited.

⁴ Or "monks' cloths". Cf. XII H 39, J 24, N 9 and its conclusion after l. 28.

⁵ The sense of *parañ kã* is not clear: *parañ* may mean "a present" and *kã* may be "a vessel with a spout". But there is a word *pañ*, "bottle" of which *parañ* might conceivably be a variant form. In that case the sense might be "water vessels with spouts," simply.

⁶ Or "straps" for carrying the vessels. The meaning of *hañ rã* is unknown.

⁷ Literally "plates (or dishes, or other crockery) for broth (or curry)".

⁸ Or "blankets" or "woollen garments"; Pali *kambaliya* has the latter sense, Sanskrit and Pali *kambala* all three meanings. The form *kambar* in XII E 17 comes from one of the last two and is represented by the modern *kmaw* (= *kamò*), which means "mat, carpet, blanket, woollen garment".

⁹ Or "knives, styles, books".

¹⁰ The remainder of this line is for the most part doubtful: *kwuiw*, "spade or shovel", and *bun kšã*, which may mean a knife for splitting bamboo (modern *khyã* = *chã*), seem reasonably probable; *na* may mean "basket".

¹¹ The reading of *myek cen* is a little doubtful, but it probably represents the similar Burmese words with the meaning given.

¹² Presumably flint and steel are meant, though the actual word is "iron".

¹³ Perhaps for hanging clothes on.

¹⁴ Vessels made from a joint of bamboo, like quivers.

¹⁵ A word qualifying "waterpots" is illegible.

¹⁶ Literally, "feet".

¹⁷ The word or words after "drinking pots" are illegible.

¹⁸ The meaning of *lam-of* is undetermined.

¹⁹ Or "sufficient".

clergy, who numbered fifteen thousand (four?)¹ hundred and fifty-four, (25) as well, (namely) the eight appurtenances, beginning with fifteen thousand four hundred and fifty-four mats and pillows, fifteen thousand seven hundred and thirty-five viss of red pepper, (26) (and) one thousand four hundred and seventy-three barrels of areca-nuts. The total of all the clergy was seventeen thousand one hundred and seventy-four. The total of red pepper was twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and (27) forty-six viss;² the total of areca-nuts was two thousand four hundred and twenty-one barrels. Thus did the King of the Law, the Lord of the White Elephant, having . . .³ omniscience, (give) offerings of meritorious gifts, as it were (28) a heavy rain, (which) he poured down upon all the lords of the clergy.

¹ The word *pan* "four" seems to have been wrongly omitted before *klash* "hundred". This appears to follow from the number of mats and pillows in l. 25 taken in connection with the number (1720) of the leading clergy in l. 19 and the full totals (17,174) in ll. 19 and 26, which leaves 15,454 for the minor clergy.

² It is impossible to reconcile this number with the numbers given in ll. 21 and 25.

³ The meaning of *tamo* is undetermined. It can hardly be *tmo* "rock, stone".

No. XVII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE KYAK PAN PAGODA, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

97. This inscription is engraved on one face of a stone which appears to have been broken into three pieces. The two upper fragments adjoin pretty closely and form a continuous text, though at the junction it is often blurred, apart from the fact that the whole document is much weathered and to a great extent illegible. The lower fragment is detached and it has not been possible to fit it with certainty on to the upper parts. The height of the inscribed area, therefore, cannot be stated exactly, but it appears to have been a little over 3 ft.; the breadth is 3 ft. 3 in. The letters are $\frac{3}{8}$ in. high, and letter *t* from $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{5}{8}$ in. long. The interlinear space varies from $\frac{5}{8}$ in. near the top of the inscription to 1 in. near the bottom.

98. This record commemorates the setting up by King Dhammaceti in the last quarter of the year 837 (the first quarter of A.D. 1476) of four great statues of Buddha and his three immediate predecessors on a common base, whence this monument derives its name which means "the Four Buddhas". Unfortunately the inscription is in such a bad state of preservation that only a relatively small part of the text could be deciphered and translated. Some portions run parallel with passages in XII M, and a comparison of the two records has thrown light here and there on what would otherwise have been treated as practically illegible or at any rate so dubious that nothing could safely be said about it.

Text.

1. II namo Buddh[āya] II n[or c]nām tuy [tila puin kyāk] tray
Sā[kyamuni ma pa parinirbbā]n gah 2019 [cnām kuli lon a tuy
heñ] I pday sak[karāt 837 gah I tila] ñaḥ [smin dhar
Rāmaḍhipati Śrīpa]-

2. [rama]ma[h]ādha[m]ma[rājā]dhirāt I ma [cuin dah tau tila ciñ
batān I ma pkañ rañ tau¹ pītakat pi suim bed I ma lhiñ tau
pḍay ma pa puin sāsanā] - kyā[k tray ma pkañ rañ tau kramin
prab]woy dhar [gah I khā gah gasa]-
3. p cuit [ma] rau wo' [ktuiw dah ra I pḍay] (kāla) [puiy wo' gah
I kyāk tray Kakkusan] (ma nwom bnat saluñ pan) [cwoh hat
pakati ler mwoy I kyāk tray Konaguim ma nwom bnat saluñ
pi [cwo]-
4. [h hat pakati ler mwoy I kyāk tray Kassapa] (ma nwom bnat
saluñ bā cwoh hat pakati ler mwoy I) [kyāk tray Gotama ma
nwom] (bnat saluñ cwoh dacām) [hat pakati ler] mwoy I
5. tila puiy kyāk tray pan wo' dah [tuy ra] (I uit tila puiy) [kyāk
tray pan wo'] (tuy) [ma nwom bnat saluñ tuy] (ma gah II pan)
[cwoh hat] (I pi cwoh hat I) [bā cwoh hat]
6. [I cah dacām hat I ma gah wo' gah I bnat]¹ [tuy
ma ñah] [bnat] . . . [tila puiy] (te' gah)
. (dah uiw da ci) [bnat yām wo]-
7. ' ra [ñah ma] sḥat gah I [bat ha go' bnat tuy]
. (kuiw dah) . (kui) . (dah)
[uiw da ci I patimārup pan wo'] (tu)-
8. y I [ma] ey ska[nam] w[o' gah I . . . ' gah ey (tila puiy)
[kyāk tray] [wo'] ra I [bnat janok] (thawhāy)²
. . [yām bnat] (da)-
9. [cā]m cwoh [hat saluñ ma] (dah) [ḥmāñ] (thawhāy² tuy) . . (dah)
[pi cwoh pi hat ku mwoy] (pat³ pakati) [gah heñ I] ey s[kanam
ñi I patimā](ghara ku) [patimārup pan]
10. ma sdmāñ I ma nwām bnat [mway mway tlañ klañ klañ hat]
(pakati) (ma nwām bnat saluñ)
. . . [ey skanam ñi II II rau gah kṣap] (tuy heñ) [II pḍay
sakkarāj II 837 II kitu]

¹ Except where otherwise stated, a dot in this transcript represents one missing *akshara*.

² This appears to be the reading. Whether the word is to be regarded as connected with the modern *thawḍai* (*thawai*), "lap", seems doubtful. But cf. XV A 5.

³ Very doubtful reading. Presumably the word represents a subdivision of the cubit.

11. māk mway [crawek thāy brab(b)ati] (lak krakat heñ II) . . . (lwon tuy II) [II kitu cay cah bā bramok thāy] (buddhawā II lak bruih I¹ ma yok toñ) [pati]-
12. [m]āghara (nda)¹ [II II] (gata . . kuim II) (bwoy ramen) [heñ ra II II akhā] (ma cuip arā ma sdabut)² . .
13. (t)³ gah [II pday dwor] (ler) II (dlañ) . . (ti) . . (lāk lar aṅkade bwoy) [kwo]-
14. [m ku] (garhah) [truh brau] (het mik kuiw go' dman̄ gah tuy) (wūduih) [pa-uit] (I bwāy mañah gah grop) . . .⁴ (pa-uit I bwoy) [pday sala kambu pa-uit I rau gah preñ] (tuy heñ) (dlañ)
15. dh[āt dwor gah] (gah) (ma cicwon kuim lar) (gah kuim lar) (kuim lar)
16. [ñ] bu[ddharup pan duih] (ler rau gah kuim gañi galau) (dlañ gah) (lar ra) [ma cicwon] (gah)
17. . (wūduih dlañ gah tun dāk nūn garay) [inwoy thap pnān kamak mway thap I pnān dalān mwoy thap] (gah) [gañi galau lar] (ra II pa-uit)
18. . [II kwom ku amāt dakuip pnān] (arañ pariwā gamluiñ) [ma sadmān II swak ma pa sabhañ]⁵ (mwoy) [tuy]
19. (dlañ dhāt)
20. [ti II kwom ku]

¹ Spelt *nda* (Cf. XIV 1).² Probably for *sdabut*.³ This is probably the last letter of *dhāt*. Cf. XII M 9.⁴ With this passage, cf. XII M 10, 11 which have helped in the conjectural restorations.⁵ Cf. XII M 15-17 with the preceding passage.⁶ The dots after the words in ll. 20-26 are intended merely to fill up the line, not to indicate the amount that is missing.

21. (brau) [tila ñah]
22. . . (gamluiñ)
23. (ñ sabhañ tuy)
24. . (ā bway dhāt ra)
25. (y tau)
26. [truh ma go' etadagga] (cah mway II rup upah brau ma go')
[etadagga]¹
27. (dabut lar)²
28.
29. (rup mba) [kyāk tray] . . . (rup
klam cah dacām te' wo')
30. [rup Mahābisnu II rup]
(II) [rup] (dewatau)
31. (tuy II) . [i] . [i]
32. (tuy II) (gah heñ II tuiñ rup)
.
33. . . . (kuim) [lar II rup dapuin the brau ma -luñ pday]
34. watthu [kuim lar II kuiw
kanam calo' lar pa-uit heñ II pday pajrah kyāk pan duih tun]
(ler II pday)

¹ Compare XII M 35. Here the legible part of the upper fragment of the inscription ends.

² Probably for *dabut lar*, which may be the actual reading (cf. l. 12). Here the legible part of the lower fragment begins. The dots following the words indicate their position with reference to the right margin, but those which precede the words merely fill up the line. This also applies to lines 28-33 in similar circumstances. What interval there is between the two fragments is not clear. On the analogy of XII M 34-36 it is even possible that they overlap to the extent of making l. 29 the continuation of l. 26.

837
638
1475

35. [tluñ II rup buiw Mā kya] II pḍay [pajrah] (II) [latu
gah II tuiñ rup dewatau¹ truh brau gamluiñ ma tau tau pḍay
cah lñim cakkawā II ma tluñ] (pa pujau) ;
.
36. [masun cwoh II rup gam-i truh II gam-i brau] (II rup dewatau)
[II rup pruit II rup buil pnān Mā II rup dewatau truh brau]
(ma tluñ pa pujau) [kyāk tray]
.
37. [kṣū teh]¹ [ra] I ui[t kuiw
dayoñ] [lar cut thar sran]
.

Translation.

Honour to Buddha! 2019 years having elapsed from the year when the Lord of Merit, the exalted Buddha Sākyamuni, achieved Parinirvāṇa, in the year 837 of the Common Era His Majesty the King of the Law Rāmādhīpati Śrī Pa(2)ramamahādhammarājādhīrāt, who is the Lord of the White Elephant, who supports the three Pīṭakas together with the Vedas, who delights in rendering meritorious service to the religion of the exalted Buddha, who wields sway in accordance with the Law, at that time a thought (3) of this sort arose (in his) mind: "In this (time?) of ours, a (statue of) the exalted Buddha Kakusandha measuring forty standard cubits in height, one of the exalted Buddha Koṇāgamana measuring thirty (4) standard cubits in height, one of the exalted Buddha Kassapa measuring twenty standard cubits in height, and one of the exalted Buddha Gotama measuring eighteen cubits in height (5) these four (statues of) our lords the exalted Buddhas being made, (all?) these (statues of) our lords the exalted Buddhas, measuring in height forty cubits, thirty cubits, twenty cubits (and) (6) eighteen cubits, as aforesaid, the measurement which they the measurement these Buddhas (because?) to measure the measurement (7) at this time (?), not having been able to measure the measurement (caused to be?) these four statues (8) that I shall make . . . I our lords the exalted Buddhas this the measurement (of the

1475
white Elephant

?

¹ Cf. XII M 9. It would be possible to read *kch*.

size of the seat ?)¹ measurement . . . (9) eighty cubits, in height to be (a seat ?)¹ . . . thirty-three standard cubits and one *pat* (?),² I will make, a statue (hall and ?) (where) the four statues (10) are to be, measuring on each side one hundred standard cubits measuring in height I shall make !"

Having thus reflected, in the year 837 of the Common Era, (11) the first (day) of the waning of the month of Māgha, the day (being) Thursday,³ (Cancer being *lagna* ?), . . . (was finished ?) (on) the twelfth (day) of the waxing of the month of Caitra, the day (being) (Wednesday, Taurus being *lagna* ?), (they) set up the posts of the statue (12) hall) (?). (In front of ?) . . . (also ?) (successively ?)⁴ When the time came to set up⁵ (13) . . in the middle (chamber ?) smeared plaster on . . . together (14) with the laity, men and women, for them to be, (he) said, (all around ?). Outside (they) covered . . . throughout; inside (they) hung white (cloth) throughout. Having thus prepared it, the central (15) relic (chamber ?) which (they) also decorated . . . also . . . also . . . (16) the four Buddha statues (they) thus adorned also (the chamber ?) adorned (17) . around the chamber too (with) watering pots, one row, hanging lamps, one row, altar candles, one row, (they) adorned. Throughout (18) . together with the ministers (and) chiefs of the army (and all the retinue ?), to be, in order to hold a festival (one) (having ?) . . . (19) (relic chamber ?) . . . (20) . together with (21) (daughter of ?) His Majesty (22) . . (all ?) (23) (having held the festival ?) (24) . . (went to the relic ?) (25) (26) (eleven statues of)⁶ male (devotees)⁶ who had attained pre-eminence, (ten)⁶ statues of female devotees who had attained pre-eminence (27) (set up ?)⁷ (28) (29) (a statue of the

¹ See the note on the text.

² See the note on the text. It is not clear which of the dimensions in this line applies to the height but the second one seems the more likely.

³ This date appears to correspond with Thursday, 11th January 1476 and the next one with Wednesday, 6th March 1476.

⁴ Or "in a row", or "in due order".

⁵ See the note on the text.

⁶ Conjecturally restored, following XII M 35.

⁷ See the note on the text.

father of ?) the exalted Buddha . . . ~~these~~ hundred and eighteen statues ?)
 (30) a statue of Mahābisnu, a statue statues *mahabisnu*
 (of devas ?) (31) (having ?) (32)
 (having ?) (in accordance with the shapes ?)¹ (33)
 (also ?), statues of senior nuns who came (34) offerings
 (?) also, caused to be made and set all around. On the plinth of the
 four-sided Buddha (statues) also, on (35) came, statues *MAHA*
 of the vanquished army of Māra, on the plinth above, in accord-
 ance with the many shapes of male and female devas that dwell in
 ten thousand universes, who came (to do reverence ?) (36)
 fifty ; statues of monks (and) nuns, (statues of devas ?), statues of pretas,
statues of Māra's army, statues of male and female devas (who came to do
reverence to ?) the exalted Buddha (37) engraved and
 carved all the pillars applied gold and silver²

¹ Doubtful reading and meaning. But cf. l. 35.

² Cf. XII M 9.

No. XVIII.

AN INSCRIPTION OF GAUNGZEGYUN PAGODA, PEGU.

Descriptive Account.

99. This inscription is on two faces and a detached fragment of stone. The parts occupied by the lettering here transcribed are on Face A, 1 ft. 10 in. in height, 1 ft. 4½ in. in breadth, on Face B, 1 ft. 9 in. in height, 1 ft. 4½ in. in breadth, and on the fragment C 2½ in. in height by 9 in. in breadth. The letters and interlinear spaces are nearly of the same dimensions as in No. XIII. The inscription contains imprecations on persons who are not true to the faith, and blessings on those that are. It seems to be only the remnant of a more extensive record, and owing to the bad state of preservation of some parts of it, it has not been possible to make a complete translation of the portion that is available.

Text.

A

1. [kuiw] dah mran sapā
kuiw barah bara[h]
2. [nar]ak jamnok dacām kuiw cin
(tau lā)
3. [tun] II kuiw ktuiw dah pruit mwai
jaku mwai wā sr[ot]
4. [nɔ̃] . [ñ] II yām p[u]n mwai ma II ḍāk
mwai tanḍat¹ lamlān la
5. [go'] lop ka' II blaḥ nū gah tun II ktuiw dah mnih II . .
6. . . [nū g]aw 500 leh II kamlau nū gaw 500 leh II damlu nū
ga[w 500]

¹ Error for tanḍah, or thanḍah if the word means "drop".

7. [leh] II [t]amnim nū_gaw 500 [l]eh II ktuiw dah sat sat
[tamnim]¹
8. [nū_gaw] 500 le[h] kuiw de[h] ktuiw dah II mnih ma ha cmat
sa-
9. [cā_gamluīn_puijai_ma_huim] w[o]’ ku[i]w dah [pūgui]w wa[h]²
heñ ra II II
10. mwai la[kā_t]ui[n_l]ahuim_pui[y]’ ma_gah-wo’ [p]abwai³ dhaw yaw
pūguiw mwai pna
11. bak cmat II pđai lok wo’ II ma sak [k]u antarāai kuiw dah II
ma
12. sak ku tad[ok] kūiw dah II mnih dewatau le(w kuiw) [s]d[ui]k II
13. yat [sapat] pđai lok bwai ma gluīn heñ kui[w go]’ duñ ca II
14. [ayuk] lew kuiw dliñ II khyuit [ā] nū wo’ tun II pđai duñ swa-
15. w [kui]w go’ ā dah II kuiw go’ ca tau yat sapat dip II
16. [jmā]p bhawa ma ktuiw dah ma sa[k] ku tadok kuiw dah I
tuiñ-rādhān[ā]
17. [parit_t]amlā ma rādanā kui[w_đok] peñ [k]uiw pū[gui]w ga[h]
(. .)
18. (heñ) [ra] II

B

1. (bra)mā[k_t]ñai [palu]i[t]
2. [kui] (II) [p] . (n) . . i(t bwai m)n
(gata kā)
3. (II) [mwai lakā] sc[u]t[i] [mha] II
(ga) [kuiw] (la)

¹ Or *tamni*, for *tamnim*. But probably the final letter, though it looks like *r*, is meant for *ih*.

² Probably for *gah*.

³ Or *babwai*.

4. [aga] II [pawa ma ha]
5. [II ma] sda[h] (ler sat)
II
6. [mw]ai la[kā]
. (II) (skandām)
7. [II] (mañah nū) [pawa ñah
tamlā tamlā] (ta)
8. (pa het) (wo') [uiw] II [jnok k]uiw
da[rhat] II
9. (tla a) II (tla) aniñ
sguiñ jak (la)
10. (go') [pa tuai] II ga[h] lew palan
[k]ui[w dra]-
11. (p ñah) II (II) ñaṇ lahu[iṁ¹
w]o' mwai lakā rā(p)
12. II [kuiw]
. (wo') II [sacā]
13. (wo') [he]ñ (k)uiw [d](ah) [pna]
.
14. [ku]iw (tit) II [dōk dluñ] (II)
II (grah kuiw)
15. [br]
. II
- 16, 17. (Illegible).

¹ For the final letter, cf. the note on A 7,

C

1. . . . (ta)ndañ tha(mbat) ñah Jamm(u)di[t] kuiw ar
2. [iw] . . [ñ] II sam(-a)r p(d)ai mhai akah (tau)

Translation.

A

. may (he) have smallpox (resulting in) blindness, may (he be dispersed?) (2) (in) the eight great hells may (he) be cooked (3) again; may (he) become a *preta* for one existence, sucking (4) if one grain of boiled rice, one drop of water, dew . . . (5) (may it not?) be able to enter (his) throat. And thereafter again (may he) become a human being, . . . (6) . . from birth 500 times, dumb from birth 500 times, blind from birth 500 (7) times, leprous from birth 500 times, (may he) become leprous creatures (8) from birth 500 times, may he become! A man who is not true to the faith, (9) may all this that we have said befall that person!

(10) On the other hand, in accordance with this saying that we utter, if a person follows truly according to the law, (11) in this world may (he) be free from calamity, (12) may (he) be free from suffering, may (he) be pleasing to men and devas also, (13) may (he) be able to enjoy much happiness in the world¹, (14) may (his) life also (be) long, (and when he dies (and) goes hence, (15) may (he) be able to go into existence in the heavenly land (and) may (he) be able to enjoy celestial bliss; (16) may every form of being (into) which (he) comes be free from suffering; in accordance with the *paritta* (17) prayers that (the men of) old prayed² may (it) be fulfilled for that person!

¹ Or "enjoy happiness in many worlds." But in view of what follows this seems a less probable interpretation.

² Or "the ancient *paritta* prayers that (men) pray."

B

sunrise (and sun)set¹ (2) in the future (?)
 (3) once again will die (4) deeds that are
 not (5) who shall be (creatures?) (6)
 once again shall make . . (7) (besides?) the deeds of
 the men of olden times . . . (8) (because?) (this) . . . great in
 strength (9) violent (persons?) shall seize (and drag
 away?) . . . (10) having been able to do also restore
 (his?) (11) property in accordance with this saying, once again
 . . . (12) (this) (this) (13) (faith?)
 (14) may . . . (go out?), travel by boat (may the
 planets?) (15-17)

C

. may (the offerings of?) the people of Jambudvīpa (2) . . .
 in the heavens

Postscript.

100. In concluding this series of inscriptions, I desire to express my obligations for help given me by the authorities who commissioned me to undertake the work, by their officials, and by a number of friends already mentioned in § 21, to whom must now be added Dr. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, my two former pupils, Professors G. H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, and my colleague, Dr. J. A. Stewart. But especially I would stress again the great debt I owe to the ever-willing assistance of Dr. Robert Halliday, whose death is a great loss to Burma, to Môn scholarship, and to all who knew him.

¹ Or "east (and) west."